



Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-127
Friday
1 July 1988

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-127

CONTENTS

1 July 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Petrovskiy Comments on UN Disarmament Session	1
Views Nonproliferation Treaty	1
Ryzhkov on Nonproliferation Treaty Anniversary	1
Further Ryzhkov Remarks	2
Nuclear-Risk Reduction Center Chief Interviewed [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Jun]	3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Shultz in Guatemala 'Attacked' Nicaragua Policy	5
Reagan, Turkey's Evren Affirm NATO Commitment [TRUD 29 Jun]	5
Carlucci 'Position of Strength' Reference Noted [TRUD 29 Jun]	5

China

PRC Communist Party Anniversary Marked	5
Prospects for USSR Youth Contacts Noted	6

Northeast Asia

Observer Assesses U.S.-Japan Security Treaty	7
Kalinin Views Treaty	7
'Month of Struggle' for Korean Unification	8
DPRK Paper Cited on U.S. Buildup in South [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 29 Jun]	8
Agafonov Concludes Overview of S. Korea Scene [IZVESTIYA 22 Jun]	8

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Plans for Palau 'Contradict UN Charter' [IZVESTIYA 29 Jun]	11
Heng Samrin Cited on Cambodian Settlement [PRAVDA 29 Jun]	11
SRV Commander Comments on Withdrawal	11

Near East & South Asia

'Secret' USSR-Syria Talks on Chemical Warfare [Jerusalem]	11
Afghanistan Delivers 36th Protest Note	12
Afghanistan Withdrawal 'Strictly on Schedule' [KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Jun]	12
Pakistan Blocks Returning Afghan Refugees [Vavilov]	12
Case of Soviet POW in Afghanistan Described [Bratislava PRAVDA 25 Jun]	13
Academician Discusses Rights of Soviet POW's [IZVESTIYA 25 Jun]	14
IZVESTIYA Interviews Afghan Army General [26 Jun]	15
'Vremya' Reports on Afghan Parliament Session	16
Briefs	17
Algerian Friendship Celebration	17

East Europe

Hungarian, Romanian Reports on Relations Cited	17
Supreme Soviet Congratulates Hungary's Straub	17
PRAVDA Interviews Hungarian Ambassador Rajnai [24 Jun]	17
Polish Spokesman Cited on Gorbachev Visit	20

West Europe

U.S. Diplomat Expelled From Portugal	20
Greece Welcomes Soviet Proposals on Bases	20
Government Condolences on Paris Rail Crash [IZVESTIYA 30 Jun]	21

Latin America & Caribbean

Panamanian Minister, Others on U.S. Position	21
El Salvadoran Party Leader Views Struggles	21

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Three Die in Yamburg Gas Pipeline Explosion	23
Solomentsev Views Restructuring in Kalinin [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Jun]	23
Ryzhkov, Others Sign Ex-Minister's Obituary [SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 29 Jun] ..	27
Ligachev, Others Sign Kirghiz Poet's Obituary [PRAVDA 22 Jun]	27
Komsomol Previews Mironenko Conference Speech [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 26 Jun]	27
Shalayev Interviewed on Trade Unions' New Tasks [TRUD 23 Jun]	28
Komsomol Secretary Interviewed on Resignation [Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH 23 Jun]	32
Lukyanov Addresses Social Sciences Graduates [PRAVDA 26 Jun]	33
CPSU's Baklanov Criticizes Siberians' Work [PRAVDA 17 Jun]	35
Rally Held for Lithuanian Restructuring Group [Vilnius]	37
Latvian Party Plenum Condemns Extremist Elements [Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 19 Jun]	39
Estonian Commission Planning 'Democratization' [Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 14 Jun]	39
Estonian Popular Front's Savisaar Interviewed [Rome LA REPUBBLICA 26-27 Jun]	40
PRAVDA Interviews Uzbek, Tajik Party Leaders [25 Jun]	41
Actions of Leningrad Rights Group Criticized [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 24 Jun]	43
Volkogonov on De-Stalinization, Party Conference	45
Classical Roots of Stalin Tyranny Examined [SOTSIALITICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 25 Jun]	46
'Mailbag' on Stalin's Role in War, Trotskiy	49
KGB Reports Cases of Economic Espionage [ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 25]	50
TRUD on Trial [21 Jun]	50
Part Two of IZVESTIYA Article on Dogmatism [11 Jun]	52

Agricultural

Measures To Boost Quality Grain Output Viewed [IZVESTIYA 26 Jun]	56
Statistical Committee on Agricultural Output	57

Scientific

Further Details of 'Mir' Cosmonauts' Spacewalk	57
Additional Walk Needed	58
Briefs	58
AIDS Statistics	58
Polar Research Vessel Sails	58
Minicomputer Operation With U.S.	58
Space Accord With France	59

Petrovskiy Comments on UN Disarmament Session
*LD3006105088 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT
30 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—The 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament was "in fact a laboratory of the new thinking in disarmament, the most important area in forming universal security," said Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. Speaking today at the Press Centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry, he commented on the results of the session which ended in New York.

Expressing regret that the final document on the basis of consensus was not reached, Vladimir Petrovskiy noted that the reason for this lay in the position of the U.S. delegation. It flatly refused to look for generally acceptable wordings. At first American representatives said that they regarded unacceptable provisions of the document concerning discontinuation of the arms race in space, limitation of naval armaments and the concept of interrelation between disarmament and development. However, when a possibility of settling these three questions emerged, the U.S. delegation went back on its earlier promises of conducting work on the other provisions of the document and put forth an ultimatum demand: to strike out of the document any mention of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace.

Of course, the deputy minister went on to say, not only the United States but also other states had their special interests. But, in contrast to the USA, nobody closed the door for a dialogue and did not set forth ultimatum demands. On the contrary, all other participants in the session displayed readiness to come to a compromise and to look for a reasonable balance of interests.

We can say with confidence that the priorities advocated by the USSR, its programme for freeing the world from nuclear and other mass destruction weapons by the year 2000 and proposals on the entire system of areas of disarmament enjoy the support at the United Nations, pointed out Vladimir Petrovskiy.

Views Nonproliferation Treaty

*LD3006105488 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT
30 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—The Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is an important and efficient instrument to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons, said Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy foreign minister of the USSR. He addressed here a press conference devoted to the results of the U.N. General Assembly's third special session on disarmament.

"And really, the number of nuclear states did not increase over the 20 years that passed since the signing of the treaty. And meanwhile it was supposed that the number will become nearly 15-20", said the Soviet diplomat. The first international control mechanism to put

into life the treaty, created within the framework of the International Atomic Energy Agency, proved to be effective. The experience of the work of this mechanism could well be used in the process of nuclear disarmament.

"Looking into the future, one should say that universalization of the treaty could become a very important factor in ensuring nuclear security. The matter is that the universal non-proliferation treaty should, in the final account become one of the pillars of a non-nuclear, non-violent world", said the deputy foreign minister of the USSR.

Vladimir Petrovskiy expressed concern over a rise in the number of "near-nuclear" states. Serious anxiety was expressed at the recent special session of the U.N. General Assembly over nuclear ambitions of Israel, the Republic of South Africa, Pakistan.

"The session managed to agree in principle upon the wording on the need of observance of the provisions of the treaty, thus showing that the world community very clearly realises the danger of the process of proliferation of nuclear weapons and the need for practical nuclear non-proliferation steps", he said.

Ryzhkov on Nonproliferation Treaty Anniversary
*LD3006132588 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT
30 Jun 88*

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has been one of the first-ever international agreements on the limitation of nuclear weapons. It has been an important factor in ensuring international security and strategic stability, said Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The Soviet premier granted an interview to a TASS correspondent on the occasion of the 20th anniversary on July 1, 1988, since the opening for signature of the nuclear weapon non-proliferation treaty.

Today the principles of non-proliferation envisaged in the treaty have won broad acclaim, they have become part and parcel of the fundamentals of international law. It is not accidental that the nuclear weapon non-proliferation treaty has been the broadest international-legal document in the field of limitation of weapons with 136 states being party to it. The Soviet Union is making a weighty contribution to developing the non-proliferation regime, by strictly abiding by its commitments under the treaty and undeviatingly following the respective nuclear export rules, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed.

He noted that among the non-participants in the treaty on nuclear weapon non-proliferation there are such that are not particularly ashamed to demonstrate openly their nuclear ambitions. They are first and foremost Israel and the RSA, whose stand on that issue indisputably aggravates the complicated as it is situation in the Middle East and in Southern Africa.

Already now the treaty symbolises to most states the reality of a peaceful alternative to the military application of nuclear energy. We see the ultimate objective in that becoming the rule to all, the head of the Soviet Government pointed out.

The twentieth anniversary of the treaty coincides with the period of the most important events in the life of the international community. The new political thinking, which is a reflection of the long-ripe requirements and imperatives of the world today, has found its specific expression in the programme put forward by the Soviet Union for a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons. Today we are witnessing the first real results of its practical implementation. I bear in mind first and foremost the conclusion of the INF Treaty, considerable progress in drawing up an agreement on 50 per cent cuts in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the USA, the Soviet-American treaty on the limitation and in the final analysis prohibiting nuclear tests.

One of the conditions indispensable for the stable non-stop process of nuclear disarmament, which is only beginning, is without doubt, the preservation and strengthening of the non-proliferation treaty. The Soviet Union will further resolutely come out from the positions of support for the treaty, which shall remain effective until nuclear-free and non-violent world becomes a reality. It can be replaced only with an all-embracing international treaty on non-revival of nuclear weapons after their complete and ultimate elimination, Nikolay Ryzhkov said in conclusion.

Further Ryzhkov Remarks

LD3006181488 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1225 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jun (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, answered the questions of a TASS correspondent in connection with the fact that 1 July 1988 is the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Question: As everyone knows, the Soviet Government is one of the depository states of the treaty together with the Governments of the United States and Great Britain. How do you assess the main results of the treaty's 20-year history and its place in the system of modern international relations?

Answer: The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons was one of the first in the history of international agreements on nuclear arms limitation. It has become an important factor in ensuring international security and strategic stability.

In the first place, the conclusion of this treaty has put a legal international barrier in the way of the very serious potential danger of a wide circle of states acquiring nuclear weapons. Undoubtedly, this danger would have

led to the entire structure of international relations overheating and the number of various types of critical situations, incidents, and fateful chances increasing. There is no need for me to say that the spread of nuclear weapons could have resembled a chain reaction—some thing not unlike the way these very weapons act. This is happening in conditions when the development a great number of countries has reached the level permitting the creation a bomb whenever they wish.

Humanity has realized that the spread of nuclear weapons would threaten us all alike and that it is necessary for all to respond collectively and adequately to this threat. For many countries, this meant that ideas of national prestige, their own strategic interests, and concepts and the task of ensuring security had to be seriously weighed up on the political scales.

In the article "Reality and Guarantees of a Safe World" Michael Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, called the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons "a unique example of the great responsibility of states."

Both the nuclear as well as the nonnuclear states manifested a great sense of responsibility for the future of our planet: The former by pledging themselves not to promote the proliferation of nuclear weapons in any way and to hold talks on nuclear disarmament in a spirit of goodwill; the latter by refusing to acquire nuclear weapons in any way at all. The signing of the document containing these pledges was a manifestation of lofty political realism.

Today the principles of nonproliferation established by the treaty enjoy extensive recognition; they have become an inseparable part of the basis of contemporary international law. It is no accident that the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons is, with 136 states as its signatories, the broadest international legal document in the sphere of arms limitation.

The history of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons confirms its efficacy and effectiveness. The international regime of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons that has been asserted on the basis of the treaty and which includes a system of guarantees (verification) on the part of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], accords on the principles regarding nuclear arms exports, and the institution that has taken shape of bilateral and multilateral consultations among the signatories to the treaty, serves as convincing evidence of the sincere interest taken by the international community in maintaining and strengthening its foundation. The Soviet Union is making a weighty contribution to the coming into being of the nonproliferation regime, strictly fulfilling its obligations according to the treaty and rigorously observing the respective rules on exports of nuclear weapons.

Particular gratitude is owed to the work of the IAEA, which is entrusted by treaty with monitoring functions, and which has devised a system of guarantees ensuring effective and reliable nontransfer of nuclear materials from peaceful use to the manufacture of nuclear weapons. This monitoring is performed with total respect for the sovereign rights of states and without harming the development of their peaceful nuclear activities or international cooperation in the field of peace use of nuclear energy.

The broad international recognition of the ideas of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is also indicated by the fact that, in general, the countries not participating in the treaty itself do not oppose the principles it contains and, in essence, conform to them in their policies and trade-economic activities. It is, therefore, possible to talk of these principles being universal in their application.

It is true that among the nonparticipants of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons there are also those who, without particular inhibition, are openly demonstrating their nuclear ambitions. These are, above all, Israel and the RSA, whose stances on this issue are undoubtedly intensifying the already complex situation in the Near East and in southern Africa. The Israeli and South African authorities should have realized long ago that the prosperity of their countries does not lie in a nuclear future and that to accede to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons is the only choice that can be dictated by reason, morality, and a sense of responsibility, if only to their own peoples.

Question: How do you now see the treaty's future, particularly in connection with the task of totally liberating the world from nuclear weapons?

Answer: For most states, the treaty already symbolizes the reality of a peaceful alternative to the military application of nuclear energy. We envisage the final goal in this becoming a rule for everyone. Incidentally, the arguments used against nuclear disarmament often include the following: Once mankind has created nuclear weapons, he cannot forget how to make them. This would seem to be true, but the treaty has an entire mechanism aimed at ensuring that nuclear technology does not materialize in arms production. In particular, we consider that there is every reason to make use of the experience of the IAEA's guarantees to devise a system for monitoring future nuclear disarmament measures.

The treaty's 20th anniversary is occurring at a time of major events in the life of the world community. The new political thinking, which reflects the pressing needs and imperatives of today's world, has been given concrete expression in the program of stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons proposed by the Soviet Union. Today we are witnessing the first real results of its practical implementation. I have in mind, first and foremost, the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the substantial progress

achieved in working out an agreement on 50 percent reductions in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, and the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting and eventually banning nuclear tests. Positive changes have taken shape in many other spheres of international life. The obligation assumed by each participant in the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons—to conduct talks, in a spirit of goodwill, on effective measures for ending the nuclear arms race and for nuclear disarmament under strict and effective monitoring—has a highly topical ring to it today.

One of the preconditions essential for the stable and unceasing nuclear disarmament process that is just commencing is undoubtedly the preservation and reinforcement of the nonproliferation treaty. The Soviet Union will continue to give resolute support to the treaty, which should remain in force until a non-nuclear and nonviolent world becomes a reality on earth. It can only be replaced by a comprehensive international treaty on the nonrevival of nuclear weapons after their complete and final elimination.

Nuclear-Risk Reduction Center Chief Interviewed
PM3006130988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
30 Jun 88 Single Edition p 4

[M. Ponomarev report on interview with Colonel N. Shabalin, deputy chief of the USSR National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center: "Verification—The Basis of Trust"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Colonel N. Shabalin, deputy chief of the USSR National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center, describes how the monitoring of the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is organized.

The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles came into force at 1220 hours on 1 June 1988, the moment the ratification documents were exchanged. This treaty provides for the destruction of all Soviet and U.S. missiles with a range between 500 and 5,500 km, their launchers, and their support structures and equipment. The production of such missiles is terminated, and its nonresumption is guaranteed.

It is 1 month since the moment when the treaty came into force. What has been done in this time?

Quite a lot, Col N. Shabalin said. To be more precise, everything that the treaty envisaged. Lists of inspectors and flight crews have been exchanged through the nuclear risk reduction centers. Updated data under the Memorandum of Understanding on the determination of prime data were exchanged on 20 June. A special verification commission, whose job it is to resolve disputed questions concerning the discharge of obligations assumed by the sides, started work in Geneva at the beginning of June.

Once 30 days have passed since the treaty has come into force—in other words, as from 1 July—each side becomes entitled to carry out inspections [inspektsiya] at sites indicated in the Memorandum of Understanding. Measures to verify the treaty's observance thus come into effect. These measures are designed to give each side confidence that the pledges enshrined therein are strictly discharged, that missile systems are being eliminated, and that prohibitions are in no way evaded.

The goal of the inspections due to begin 1 July is primarily to verify the quantity of missiles, launchers, support structures and support equipment, and other data as at the date when the Soviet-U.S. treaty came into force. We have learned that the U.S. inspectors who will carry out monitoring in the eastern part of the USSR gathered in Japan a few days ago now. U.S. inspectors who will work in the western part of the USSR and in GDR and CSSR territory have arrived in Frankfurt-am-Main (FRG). The U.S. side has already notified us of the inspection site and the composition of the inspection group for continuous monitoring at the portal of the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant in the Udmurt ASSR.

The Soviet side also gave prior notification to the U.S. side of the number of inspectors, their surnames, names, and patronymics, and the inspection site for continuous monitoring: the "Hercules" Plant in Magna, Utah. Information regarding inspection sites at other facilities should be provided no earlier than 16 hours before the aircraft's arrival at the entry point, being Moscow and Ulan-Ude here in the Soviet Union.

A lot of work has been done, the center's deputy chief went on with his narrative, to prepare for the reception of U.S. inspectors. Questions of housing, catering, and medical services have been resolved. Communications with the U.S. Embassy in Moscow have been ensured for the inspectors. Task groups have been set up to deal with questions of stationing and accompanying the U.S. inspection groups. The U.S. side can send up to 10 such groups at the same time. Some 117 Soviet facilities could be subject to inspection during July and August.

In their turn, more than 30 Soviet inspection groups could visit U.S. facilities in July and August, these being missile operating bases, missile support facilities, and missile destruction sites, including more than 20 facilities located on U.S. territory and more than 10 facilities on the territory of West European countries where U.S. intermediate-range missiles are deployed.

Answering a question about the members of Soviet inspection groups, Col N. Shabalin said:

These are very well trained and highly skilled people. I can mention, for example, Colonel Anatoliy Yevgenyevich Samarin, chief of the inspection group going to the "Hercules" Plant in Magna. He is himself a Rocket Forces man, thoroughly versed in missile technology. At the same time, he is very familiar with the production processes and the technology for missile equipment manufacture. Col Samarin has come with excellent recommendations from his former service station and, in our view, is fully prepared to perform the task assigned to him.

This task is far from simple. The inspection group leader is a representative of the USSR National Nuclear Risk Reduction Center. Being an official representative of the Soviet side, he is vested with great powers for decision-making, dealings with the U.S. side, and so on.

The Soviet comrades appointed as inspectors have undergone the necessary training. They have studied in depth the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and related documents, and they have been given detailed and specific guidelines. This is, of course, something new. But we have every reason to believe that they will cope with their task.

What will happen if an inspection reveals any violation? This is how Col N. Shabalin answered this question:

To start with, we will, of course, try to resolve any problems, should they arise, right there on the spot. Inspectors are entitled to request explanations in connection with any ambiguities arising in the course of inspections. Both we and the Americans have firm intentions on this account. But life is life. If there is no success in eliminating any ambiguity in the course of an inspection, this question with the relevant explanations by the U.S. side must be recorded in the inspection report and, if necessary, it can be subsequently examined at one of the special verification commission's sessions. As a matter of fact, this commission's task includes solving all questions concerning the fulfillment of treaty obligations. This commission, comprising representatives of both sides, is already functioning.

All activities concerning the verification of the fulfillment of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in the United States are the province of the Department of Defense On-site Inspections Agency. We have already met staffers of this agency and have discussed problems that concern us. The relations we are developing are businesslike, and I would perhaps take the liberty of saying, friendly. After all, we are doing one and the same job, a job that nobody else in the world has done yet: to verify the elimination of two types of nuclear weapons at once. Being the first is always hard, but it is also an honorable job. We are prepared to do everything to justify the trust vested in us.

United States & Canada

Shultz in Guatemala 'Attacked' Nicaragua Policy
*LD0107035888 Moscow TASS in English 0220 GMT
1 Jul 88*

[“Shultz Attacks Nicaragua”—TASS headline]

[Text] Havana June 30 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is making another tour of countries of Central America which will take him to Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica.

The main aim of the visit by the head of the U.S. foreign policy department to the region is to enlist the support of local governments for the policy of the U.S. Administration with regard to Nicaragua and Panama, PRENSA LATINA news agency writes. Shultz, specifically, intends to enlist their support in the matter of the continuation of the U.S. aid to Nicaraguan contras.

According to reports coming here, immediately upon the arrival in Guatemala, the U.S. secretary of state met with President Vinicio Cerezo. An agreement on the granting of U.S. financial aid to Guatemala in the amount of DLS 75 million is expected to be signed during the visit.

News agencies report that speaking in Guatemala Shultz attacked the Nicaraguan Government accusing it of failing to comply with peace arrangements on the settlement of the situation in Central America. The pronouncements of the U.S. secretary of state leave no doubt that Washington intends to continue conducting an interventionist course with regard to Nicaragua by resuming, specifically, arms supply to bands of contras.

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, who was visiting in Cuba, declared for the holding of peace talks with the United States to normalise bilateral relations. He said Nicaragua will demand that the U.S. Government, be it a Democratic or a Republican administration, should respect the international legal order and comply with the decisions of the international court in the Hague, should stop war against Nicaragua and open talks with it.

Reagan, Turkey's Evren Affirm NATO Commitment
*PM2906134588 Moscow TRUD in Russian
29 Jun 88 p 8*

[TASS report: “President Reagan Meets With Turkish President”]

[Text] Washington, 28 Jun—U.S. President Ronald Reagan met Monday with Turkish President Kenan Evren, who is paying an official visit here.

As reported by a high-ranking administration representative, Reagan and Evren stressed their commitment to the “principles of democracy” and NATO. They discussed a number of aspects of bilateral relations, including the question of U.S. aid to Turkey “in the sphere of

security.” According to the representative, the White House intends to seek from Congress increased military aid for Turkey, which, as he stressed, is already the third largest recipient of such aid from the United States after Israel and Egypt.

International problems such as the situation surrounding Cyprus and the Iran-Iraq war were also discussed at the meeting. The administration representative stated, in particular, that both the United States and Turkey attach great significance to the “work of the UN secretary general and his officials” to reach a settlement on Cyprus.

Carlucci 'Position of Strength' Reference Noted
*PM2906122988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
29 June 88 p 8*

[TASS report: “Speech by Frank Carlucci”]

[Text] Washington, 28 Jun—“As a witness of the summit meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States, I am convinced that yet another step in the dialogue under way with the USSR was taken in Moscow,” U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci stated when he addressed American and foreign journalists here on Monday at the National Press Club.

Regarding the meetings with USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov, Carlucci observed that the “conversations held in Bern and Moscow were frank and were constructive, in my opinion, precisely because of that.” “We gained much from having the opportunity to express our differences and engage in a search for ways of improving relations.”

At the same time, Carlucci restated the need to conduct dialogue with the USSR from a position of strength. The Pentagon chief advocated strengthening the American deterrent forces, saying, in particular: “We cannot sacrifice armaments systems like sea-launched cruise missiles just for the sake of the arms reduction process itself or to facilitate the monitoring of agreements in this sphere.”

China

PRC Communist Party Anniversary Marked
*LD0107062888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1700 GMT 30 Jun 88*

[From the “International Diary” program, presented by Konstantin Patsyuk]

[Text] [Patsyuk] Tomorrow it will be the 67th anniversary of the forming of the Chinese Communist Party. This is what our correspondent Vladimir Kulikov has to report from Beijing:

[Begin Kulikov recording] In the 9 years that have passed since the 3d Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee of the 11th Convocation, 12,850,000

people have joined the ranks of the party. These are front-ranking workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, more than 27 percent of whom are not older than 35 years. Today the party ranks number 47,750,000 Communists.

The Chinese Communist Party's Third Plenum was a borderline from which a report is being made on Chinese reform, and the new reinforcements in the party are people who have linked their fate with that reform. In the last few years, the political activity among the population of China has increased extraordinarily. The authority enjoyed by the party organizations has grown. This is evidenced by the following fact, for example: Last year, 8 million people submitted applications to join the party. In general, with such facts, the organizational department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee stresses the role of Communists in the campaign to make the reforms in the country more profound.

In connection with the coming anniversary in the Chinese Communist Party, the newspapers contain numerous materials recounting the history of the Communist Party, the activities of Communists in various areas of the construction of socialism with specific Chinese features. The commodity economy, the emergence of a large number of mixed and private enterprises, and the division of the functions of party and state bodies being carried out everywhere in China are imposing on the country's Communists new obligations to which they are not yet accustomed.

The reform in China has entered a key stage in its development. Price and wage reforms, acceleration, restructuring the economic mechanism within large state enterprises, and boosting economic efficiency are on the agenda. The Chinese Communist Party sees that the key to solving the issues lies in introducing a contract system and competition, and assisting the mechanism of competition in all links of enterprises, from top to bottom. China presupposes that the introduction of that mechanism will bring in its wake restructuring in other spheres and will provide conditions for carrying out a reform of the cadre system, the labor system, and the distribution system. It will allow production efficiency and the economic efficiency of enterprises to be boosted.

A great deal of organizational work is being carried out at the moment in China's party organizations. At the news conference held by the organization department of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, it was announced that beginning this year, a system of appraising the annual work done by party and administrative managers will be introduced in the country. More than 100,000 members of staff in the local bodies will undergo appraisal. This is part of the reform of the cadre system.

The issue of the education of cadres is a complicated one for the party. It may be recalled that over the last 5 years, 650,000 Communists have been subjected to party

investigation, and 163,000 have been expelled from the ranks of the party. Analyzing this situation, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, the main printed organ of the Chinese Communist Party, notes today that the principle of not washing one's dirty linen in public has become unreliably out of date. In the conditions of reform and restructuring of party work, the party should not ignore cases of moral disintegration of party executives, no matter what—whether it is a case of bribery, graft, decaying morals in everyday life, or attempts to make a party post a source of income, as RENMIN RIBAO writes.

The Chinese Communists see a pledge of a successful struggle to combat the unhealthy phenomena in the party by raising the political level of the party, through strict party control, and through the participation of the masses in that control. [end recording]

Prospects for USSR Youth Contacts Noted

OW3006182688 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT
20 Jun 88

[Excerpt] Dear listeners: As earlier reported, at the invitation of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR, a delegation of the All-China Youth Federation, headed by its president, Liu Yandong, visited the USSR. While here, the representatives of Chinese young people familiarized themselves with Soviet history and the current Soviet situation, and visited Georgia and Leningrad. Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, received in audience Liu Yandong, who is also a member of the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee. The previous day, the Chinese visitors attended a meeting at the building of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR. A station reporter asked Chelnokov, president of the committee, to talk about the meeting.

Chelnokov said: We are fully convinced that the Chinese youth federation delegation's visit to our country is of historic significance. This was the first visit paid to our country by a leader of that organization in many years. We are pleased with the visit, and we believe that there is a good future for the development of friendly relations between Soviet and Chinese young people.

We had a long discussion on specific measures to promote such friendly relations [words indistinct] highly promising areas. [passage omitted] On the other hand, we also found new ways to promote exchanges of professional and semiprofessional delegations. This is because certain new youth organizations have now appeared in both the USSR and China, such as the Association of Young Economic Workers and the Association of Young Managers and Directors, as well as some occupational groups, such as the Young Philosophers' Group, the Young Sociologists' Group, and so forth. We agreed that

we will promote direct contacts between these organizations so that they can independently carry out exchanges. It is possible that these contacts—which may just be exchanges of letters—will begin this year.

Chelnokov continued: We have also agreed to expand the contacts between the Soviet (?Satellite) Youth International Travel Agency and the Chinese International Travel Agency. We may have direct exchanges in the border areas, and establish contacts resembling those between youth organizations in Leningrad and Shanghai. It is our hope that our Chinese counterparts can take part in some activities to be held in the USSR. For example, we have invited our Chinese counterparts and young researchers to take part in a symposium of young researchers to study issues of peace, security, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The symposium will take place in Nakhodko in the Far Eastern part of the USSR several weeks from now. [passage omitted]

Northeast Asia

Observer Assesses U.S.-Japan Security Treaty *OW2606004488 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 21 Jun 88*

[Anonymous Station Observer on U.S.-Japan Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty]

[Text] It has been 28 years since the U.S.-Japanese Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty became effective. Our station observer has the following comments on the treaty:

The Potsdam Declaration, signed by the Soviet Union, the United States, China, and Britain in 1945, states that after defeating Japan, those who pursue expansionist policy should be permanently deprived of political power. U.S. Forces Command solemnly stated that it is impermissible to restore Japanese militarism since Japanese militarism brought so many disasters and calamities to the people in the Asia and Pacific region. However, since 1948, U.S. occupation authorities in Japan had adopted a policy of exonerating Japanese war criminals and rebuilding Japan's military forces. U.S. strategists need Japan as an unsinkable aircraft-carrier and shock force in the region.

The U.S.-Japan Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty and the notorious Security Treaty are designed to realize U.S. schemes. The Mutual Cooperation and Security Treaty allows the presence of U.S. Armed Forces in Japan and lets U.S. Armed Forces use Japan's land in military activities. The treaty stipulates that Japan will join the United States not only in defensive actions. According to its Article 5, Japan has the obligation to join the United States in eliminating a common danger. Its Article 3 has paved the way for restoring Japanese militarism, stating: The parties, individually and in

cooperation with each other, by means of continuous and effective mutual aid, will maintain and develop their capacities to resist armed attack.

The Japanese militarist clique has widely used this article to constantly expand its military strength. As far as firepower is concerned, the Japanese Armed Forces today are ten times stronger than the Imperial Army of the World War II period. Moreover, it is constantly improving itself with the latest modern weapons. In accordance with Article 3 of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, the work of making new-generation, multiple-use aircraft on the basis of U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers for Japanese Air Force is going on at full speed. Japan is participating in the development of a computer system for directing military operations. It is also implementing the plan for building an aircraft-carrier fleet. The ceiling of keeping Japan's military spending below 1 percent of its GNP has been broken. Its second military budget which seriously violates the ceiling has been approved.

What is the purpose of Japan's restoration of militarism? With U.S. support, Japan's ruling clique is attempting to use the so-called increasing Soviet threat to defend its action. This is only a pretext. While the Soviet Union is taking concrete measures to prove its intention to ensure peace, international security and cooperation in the region, who believes such a pretext? Now that Japan is not threatened by war, why is it arming itself? There is only one answer—Japan is still heavily influenced by the forces that do not want to give up the idea of building a new aggressive Army and that harbor the illusion of revenging the defeat suffered by Japanese militarism during World War II.

Kalinin Views Treaty

OW2606024688 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Military Affairs Commentator Kalinin comments on the so-called Japanese-U.S. Security Treaty which took effect on 23 June 1960.

The Security Treaty, from the outset, has been a basic factor in controlling the direction of the military and politics in Japan. Vice Minister of the Defense Agency Nishihiro, who assumed his post recently, stated that the treaty was a cornerstone for Japan's defense. Needless to say, the Japanese-U.S. military cooperation has constantly been stepped up since the treaty went into effect. The cooperation has been deepened and activated. Drawing attention to this point is the fact that the Japanese side, in this process of the cooperation, has began playing the role of a prime mover as opposed to the U.S. leading role in the past. We can see many examples to confirm this trend during a period less than the first half of this year. For instance, Defence Agency Director General Kawara, during his visit to the United States in January this year, proposed that a study be

made on the possibility of the U.S. military reinforcements in case of emergency and on preposition of ammunition, weapons and other materials in Japan to this end. In fact, it is planned to turn Japan into a base for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces. This is proved by Foreign Minister Uno's remarks that the U.S. strategic reserve stock in Japan can be used for combat operations in various areas in the Far East.

We can not ignore the proposals by Joint Staff Council Chairman Ishii at the end of May. Chairman Ishii proposed to set up a joint Japanese-U.S. command. This move will undoubtedly lead to further strengthening Japanese-U.S. military integration. The establishment of this command makes it possible to unify commanding functions for the troops of the United States, Japan, and South Korea and to strengthen military ties of these three countries.

When we speak of Japan's positive military buildup within the framework of the security treaty, we have to pay attention to another point. According to a JIJI report, the Japanese leadership attempts to block the U.S. move to change its current nuclear policy. The JIJI report points out that the Defense Agency, on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow, urged the Pentagon not to take up the U.S. nuclear policy at the summit. The fact that the verification issue involving the Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles might be taken up at the Soviet-U.S. summit aroused concern of Japan's military. U.S. naval ships carrying these missiles frequently call in Japan. The introduction of the nuclear weapons to Japan is formally banned in accordance with the three non-nuclear principles. Therefore, the Japanese Government is compelled to choose between a ban on the U.S. warships' port calls and the renunciation of the three non-nuclear principles. At present, however, it seems difficult for the government to choose either of them.

For this reason, it is said in Japan that it is not appropriate to allow the Japanese-U.S. security arrangements to be affected by the current approach for better U.S.-Soviet relations. This stance, needless to say, is putting a brake on the process of nuclear disarmament.

'Month of Struggle' for Korean Unification
LD2506145788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1030 GMT 25 Jun 88

[Excerpts] A month of struggle for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the unification of the country on a peaceful and democratic basis has started in Pyongyang. Mikhail Kretov, our correspondent in the DPRK, reports:

[Kretov] It will last until 27 July. These dates were not selected by chance. Thirty-eight years ago the DPRK people were subjected to a severe and cruel test. The puppet regime of Seoul with U.S. support launched an aggressive attack on the DPRK. [passage omitted]

However, one thing still darkens the life of the Koreans. They are forced to live in conditions of an artificial division of the homeland. U.S. troops are still stationed on the territory of South Korea. The South Korean rulers are intensifying military efforts and are inciting military hysteria. All this is a potential threat to peace in the Far East region.

Having condemned the aggressive policy of Washington and Seoul, those who spoke at a big meeting in Pyongyang today—workers, employees, and students—also expressed the hope that the United States and its partners will heed the voice of peace-loving forces and reject the policy of demonstration of force in the Korean peninsula. The implementation of the DPRK's proposal on holding talks between the representatives of North and South Korea on the withdrawal of U.S. troops and all kinds of nuclear weapons from South Korea and on turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free peace zone could become an important step leading to the attainment of this noble objective.

DPRK Paper Cited on U.S. Buildup in South
PM2906100588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 29 Jun 88 Single Edition p 8

[TASS Report: "Gross Challenge"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 28 Jun—The newspaper NODONG SINMUN has assessed the increase in the numerical strength of U.S. servicemen in South Korea as a gross challenge to the cause of peace and unification in Korea. The organ of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee points out that in the past year the number of U.S. Armed Forces on the south of the Korean peninsula has increased by nearly 4,100 men. These facts are evidence of Washington's desire to undermine peace and to expand its rule in Asia. The newspaper notes that the United States has undertaken the buildup of its troops in response to the DPRK's peace-loving efforts, including the unilateral reduction of the numerical strength of the Korean People's Army by 100,000 men. This step of the Pentagon's has demonstrated the falseness of U.S. expatiations on "peace and the easing of tension" in Korea.

NODONG SINMUN has demanded that the United States remove its troops and nuclear weapons from the south of the peninsula and cease its interference in Korea's internal affairs.

Agafonov Concludes Overview of S. Korea Scene
PM2806131588 Moscow IZVESTIYA
in Russian 22 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Second and final part of two-part article by special correspondent S. Agafonov: "From the Seoul Notebook"]

[Text] Seoul-Tokyo—I visited Seoul soon after the new administration came to power. It had inherited a gloomy legacy from the former dictator Chon Tu-hwan, who had

stepped down. However hackneyed it is to compare the situation to a seething cauldron, it is hard to get away from it, because it is the most expressive with regard to South Korea.

President No Tae-u and the team assembled under his banner had to contend from the very outset with a whole range of difficulties of varying magnitude, extremely painful problems, and political cankers posing the threat of a serious social explosion. Many of the observers with whom I had occasion to talk see the No administration as a kind of transitional period. A transition to where and into what, it is still hard to say. But the political structure which has evolved over the decades is now beginning to change its outlines to a certain extent as it comes up against the still timid but potentially very telling bureaucratic sabotage; the opposition, which has always been minded to confrontation with the authorities, is ceasing to be a token opposition; the military are quite open in their grumbling about the cuts made, albeit purely symbolic, in their privileges; young people are protesting against the tortoise-like pace of reform and the half-hearted nature of this reform; and working people are up in arms about their stressful working conditions and pitiful wages.

It seems that in the present situation the Blue House has two main allies—the economy, which is still relatively prosperous, and the opposition, which is split by internecine dissension. If it were not for these factors, the position of No Tae-u, who, judging by his statements, is trying to transform South Korea by at least saying that he rejects the total terror legitimized by his predecessors, would be quite unstable.

As is well known, in the April general elections to the National Assembly, the ruling Democratic Justice Party (DJP) suffered a serious defeat which many observers considered a "political sensation" and virtually a crisis in the country's domestic situation. However much one would like to, however, it is hard to share this opinion. First, it would be quite hard to call the results of the vote a "sensation," as they fully accord with the December presidential elections and earlier parliamentary campaigns—the ruling party collected just over a steady one-third of the votes and held onto its position as the major force in parliament.

Second, despite its formal numerical superiority, the opposition is still split internally and represents an opposition to the DJP in purely arithmetical terms—in the number of mandates, and no one really knows when they will turn into a tangible majority. Third, within the ranks of the opposition itself, the New Democratic Republican Party under the leadership of Kim Chong-il, former prime minister of the country, is committed to its conservative approach and, not without reason, is considered a "Trojan horse" and viewed by many as an emergency reserve of the DJP.

And, finally, the last point. In the present situation the opposition majority, weakened by internal division, is objectively playing into the hands of No Tae-u, for whom the maintenance of political stability in the country and the blocking of mass antigovernment demonstrations—without the use of force if possible—represents a very important task. To tuck away the conflicts tearing the country apart inside the walls of parliament and give them the nature of constitutional debate is an ideal possible solution to the problem, as skirmishes between speakers are not the same as barricades in the streets, however serious they may be.

We will be frank, the picture is not a happy one and it is hard to give it instant credibility after the stormy events of the past year. As a result of the united front put up by opposition democratic forces, the regime faltered and made several concessions to the people's demands. Millions of people united under the banners of antigovernment demonstrations and fearlessly took on the well-drilled police and special "riot" detachments.

A year ago, in June 1987, the country was virtually on the brink of civil war, because it had been taken to extremes by pressure from the dictatorship whose parliamentary framework was exactly the same as it is now—the ruling party with the impressive-sounding title of Democratic Justice Party—and its leader was the same No Tae-u, a fellow student of Chon Tu-hwan in military academy and an active participant in the military coup of 1979. And Seoul was covered with a dense shroud of tear gas, people were burning themselves alive, cursing the terror of the secret police, the prisons were bursting with prisoners, general searches were being made throughout the country, the headquarters of democratic organizations were raided, and newspaper issues were confiscated....

So what has happened? How could such an unexpected transformation take place in the conduct of the Seoul authorities? I will frankly admit: I did not find a full answer to these questions in Seoul, although I asked many people. Some feel the clue lies in the fact that No Tae-u has succeeded in seizing the initiative from the opposition and using its slogans. Others believe that the split in the opposition is the main factor. And in the opinion of others, a large role has been played by the forthcoming Olympics. Evidently the most simple explanation is that Washington and Tokyo have decided to release the steam from the dangerously overheated South Korean cauldron by changing the guard in Seoul and carrying out limited reforms. It is characteristic, however, that with all these explanations no one ventures to guarantee a stable situation for the long term, agreeing that there should be no grand illusions regarding the present calm in Seoul and other of the country's cities.

This calm, incidentally, is also relative and even outwardly somewhat alarming. Amid the everyday hustle and bustle of the capital you are involuntarily struck by the watchfulness of the police, the large numbers of

unprepossessing types in civilian clothes who fill the center of Seoul, and the antitank hedgehogs and barbed wire by the government department building. There seem to be no serious demonstrations but there is constant action in the university towns, the "hottest" of which are virtually under blockade.

The situation is identical in South Korea's second largest city, Pusan, which I also visited. Noisy and bustling like any other port center, Pusan is, of course, more provincial and simple than Seoul but at the same time somehow more sympathetic too. The people are poorer here. The buildings are still nowhere near world standards. The streets are full of potholes and some are covered in garbage. Morals here are far from puritanical but they are more patriarchal than those of the capital. Everything is sold mainly by very old women, who sit in the store entrances on crooked stools with a cigarette permanently clamped in the corner of their mouth. Traditional Pusan lives by its port and the pockets of bazaars scattered throughout the city in abundance. Modern Pusan is growing taller and taller as high-rise buildings spring up amid scaffolding. It already has its own subway line and fast highway, which is raised on supports above the ground.

The city is picturesque and original, but this impression is counterbalanced by the sandbag-reinforced strong points of the custodians of public order, the sentries in watchtowers at the entrance to Pusan, and the same barbed wire around strategic installations. Despite the fact that it is overpopulated (more than 5 million people live in Pusan), despite its hustle and bustle, these attributes of, to put it mildly, nonpeace time do not merge into the general background, stand out in sharp dissonance from the working routine of the large city, and somehow make it seem ugly.

The people of Pusan are very uninhibited in their contact with others and quite categorical in their discussions. Late in the evening along the embankments the tarpaulin tents of so-called "nighttime entrepreneurs" spring up—they are mainly students earning some extra money by selling cheap food, coffee, and beer, inviting customers by strumming guitars which symbolize comfort and "cosiness in flickering candlelight." The atmosphere is conducive to talk and the most diverse subjects come up.

One young man I met in one of these tents has stuck in my mind—a worker from the nuclear power plant near Pusan by the name of Kim Kang-u. He had also been a student until recently, beaten up by the police more than once for taking part in "riots" and with a quite original philosophy which he himself defined as "moderate national radicalism."

It is not ultimately a question of terminology but of this ordinary man on the street's assessment of the events taking place in his country. In his opinion, the present calm represents a tacit compromise between the population and the authorities which has been reached on the

basis of an awareness of the simple fact that South Korea has reached the brink of social catastrophe, which each side fears to an equal degree. According to Kim, everyone wants stability and freedom, but not if one has to be at the expense of the other. And in this sense he personally is quite indifferent as to who sits in the Blue House, as long as the situation is no worse.

I am certainly not about to make any generalizations based on the opinions of a nighttime acquaintance. However, the line of thought is noteworthy and to a certain extent reflects the attitudes by which South Korea lives today. It is hard to call it apathy or a total loss of interest in political stratagems. It would be more accurate to describe it as weariness after the long years of constant upheavals and a long awaited breathing space resulting from a partial weakening on the part of the regime. Newspaper correspondents in Seoul were unanimous in telling me that it has become much easier to "breathe" now. They are in a better position to know, of course. But one gets the impression that, although the steam has been released from the cauldron, internal strain in the country will still make itself felt for a long time to come, while the brutality which raged so violently last year will perhaps be seen again if the right pretext should come to hand.

...There is still a great deal of interest left in my Seoul notebook. The commercial district of Itewon, which resembles an enormous bazaar and has become a citadel of vice for gentlemen from the U.S. military, of whose presence in the South Korean capital you are reminded at every step; the state historical monument "Number 253"—the site of the old Russian mission in Seoul, on which the tower of the old consulate, built in 1890, destroyed, then restored in 1973, has been preserved; the story of how the fashion of coffee drinking was introduced through this same Russian consulate in Seoul, as the Korean King Kojong, who found refuge here from the Japanese after they had killed his wife, developed a passion for it; the highly complex attitude of the local population to the Japanese who, judging by Seoul public opinion polls, firmly hold the status of most unloved nation; and the very ambiguous reception given to the Americans in South Korea, which is generally far from reverential and subservient. The latter is particularly noteworthy, because until recently we have had a rather narrow view of these problems which has mainly concentrated on aspects of the military-political partnership in which Washington plays first fiddle and Seoul has been given a supporting role. The 40,000-strong U.S. expeditionary corps stationed in South Korea, the nuclear weapons deployed in its territory, and the dozens of bases and fortified areas under the stars and stripes—all this has drowned out side issues and dominated our final assessments.

...Unfortunately, newspaper space forces me to confine myself to the two pieces readers will have now read. They do not, of course, constitute an exhaustive account of the problems facing the country, and time is speeding

up the course of events. In a few months time, in September, Seoul will be hosting the Olympics. What will happen before then? What will happen afterwards? There is probably no point in guessing....

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Plans for Palau 'Contradict UN Charter'
PM2906132388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 8

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent A. Blinov report under the rubric "Following Up the Event": "What Awaits the Palau Archipelago"]

[Text] Washington—An agreement declaring the UN trust territory of Palau a state "freely associated" with the United States is being examined in the U.S. Congress. The Senate has approved it; the vote in the House of Representatives is next.

Washington's actions contradict Article 83 of the UN Charter, which states that a change in the status of trust territories can take place only at the Security Council's decision. The United States has hitherto administered this territory on a temporary basis, under a UN mandate.

Knowledge of the agreement's content convinces one that in reality this is a matter not of granting independence but of annexing the strategically important archipelago. The Palau authorities have the right of control over their internal affairs but they will have to build their foreign policy on the basis of "consultations" with the United States. The United States "maintains responsibility for the security" of Palau. Henceforth, the people will be deprived of the chance to manage their own territory—the agreement contains the proviso that the United States has the right to set up its own military bases in Palau. Nuclear-powered U.S. ships with nuclear weapons on board can call at its ports—which contradicts the country's constitution. It bans the testing, transit, or storage of nuclear weapons on its territory if 75 percent of its electors disagree with this.

Several referendums held one after the other in Palau failed to produce the 70-percent majority necessary for approving the agreement. Then the government of Lazarus Salli signed the agreement, bypassing the constitution. It declared that a simple majority was sufficient to approve the agreement. The country's Supreme Court deemed this step unconstitutional.

The country's people are against this shackling treaty. But the U.S. authorities do not intend to give up the plan to annex the Micronesian archipelago. According to press reports, the Pentagon has specific plans for Palau—U.S. military bases will be relocated there in the event of their closure in the Philippines. The agreement is effective for 50 years.

Heng Samrin Cited on Cambodian Settlement
PM2906135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jun 88 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report: "Vanguard of the People's Masses"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 28 Jun—In the years since the victory of the revolution, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] has strengthened its ranks and become the genuine vanguard of the people's masses. This was stated by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee, in a speech at a ceremonial rally devoted to the 37th anniversary of the KPRP's formation.

Heng Samrin noted that the resolution of the Cambodia problem could be achieved if the impossibility of a restoration of the genocidal Pol Pot regime was guaranteed. The party and state leadership makes a positive assessment of the meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and Prince Sihanouk, and is always agreeable to resuming these talks. We are prepared to start talks with the opposing Khmer side, resolutely rejecting the participation of Pol Pot and his stooges in them.

SRV Commander Comments on Withdrawal
LD0107102988 Moscow TASS in English 0950 GMT
1 Jul 88

[Text] Hanoi July 1 TASS—The decision of the Governments of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the return home this year of a half of the Vietnamese volunteers opens up new prospects in the search of ways for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, said Le Ngoc Hien, commander of the Vietnamese volunteer force in Kampuchea in an interview with the Vietnamese news agency.

The main obstacle in the way towards a settlement of the situation around Kampuchea, he said, is the Pol Pot group used by international reaction. It is necessary to put up a reliable barrier to interference in Kampuchea's home affairs from the outside.

An important prerequisite for the withdrawal of 50,000 volunteers and their command and the placing of the remaining units under the command of the Kampuchean side Le Ngoc Hien said, is a steady strengthening of people's power in Kampuchea and the growing combat might of its Armed Forces.

Near East & South Asia

'Secret' USSR-Syria Talks on Chemical Warfare
TA2906143688 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew
1400 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] The Soviet Army's chief of chemical warfare paid a secret visit to Syria to examine cooperation between the two countries in the field of chemical weapons. This has been learned by Nisim Mish'al, our correspondent in Washington.

Our correspondent points out that the visit aroused great concern in Israel's defense establishment, and leading officials informed their counterparts at the Department of Defense in Washington of this development. The top echelons of the Israeli and U.S. defense establishments believe that the Soviet Union is doing nothing to hold Syria in check. The Soviet Union even recently signed an agreement on the supply of modern weapons, such as aircraft, missiles, and tanks, to Syria.

Afghanistan Delivers 36th Protest Note

LD3006222888 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT
30 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 30 TASS—The Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs handed over the 36th note to the U.N. observer group in Kabul. The BAKHTAR news agency reports that the note contains new facts of violations of the Geneva agreements by Pakistan.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan requests that an investigation of the violations should be carried out and that the Afghan side and the personal envoy of the U.N. secretary-general should be informed of investigation results.

Afghanistan Withdrawal 'Strictly on Schedule'

PM3006104188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 30 Jun 88 Single Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov report: "An Important Landmark"]

[Text] The Geneva agreements and the withdrawal of our troop contingent from Afghanistan which has now begun constitute an important international landmark in the work of achieving political settlements to regional conflicts which are fraught with danger for the world as a whole and apply the brakes to the peoples' progress. These words from the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference provided the keynote at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists held at the USSR Defense Ministry yesterday. Press representatives from many countries were addressed by Colonel General N.F. Chervov, chief of a USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, and Lieutenant General B.V. Gromov, commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan and delegate to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

"I am already greatly and powerfully impressed by the first 2 days of the all-union party forum's work," Lt Gen B.V. Gromov told the journalists. "The report by our party's general secretary and the delegates' speeches raise fundamental questions of restructuring which the conference will have to work out methods of resolving. Of course, restructuring in the Armed Forces is one of these questions.

"I have been entrusted with representing at the conference the Soviet internationalist servicemen whose withdrawal from Afghanistan is now being implemented fully in line with the Geneva agreements. Not a single Soviet soldier remains now in the provinces bordering Pakistan. On departing from the site of their deployment, Soviet subunits are handing over to the Afghan comrades well-equipped permanent camp sites, many of which already house the facilities for social and cultural purposes which the Afghan people so badly need—boarding schools, day schools, and hospitals. We are sincerely interested in seeing the Republic of Afghanistan an independent, nonaligned, and neutral state. The USSR proceeds from the premise that Afghan territory should never be used for hostile purposes against that country's neighbors. Soviet troops are returning home with a feeling of having discharged their duty. We will never forget those who died on Afghan soil defending the working people's interests and world peace."

Answering a question from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's correspondent, Lt Gen B.V. Gromov stressed that the withdrawal of units and subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet troops is being implemented strictly according to the set schedule, which has not been amended in any way. The few attempts by the armed Afghan opposition to hinder the withdrawal have been resolutely cut short. The convoys departing from Afghanistan have suffered no losses at all in either men or materials.

Other questions from journalists were also answered.

Pakistan Blocks Returning Afghan Refugees

LD2706155188 Moscow TASS in English 1434 GMT
27 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—TASS observer Valeriy Vavilov writes:

Some 700 Afghan refugees returned home in the past 24 hours. This is just a small part of the Afghan people who for various reasons found themselves in exile. Millions of others are waiting for their hour to return home to a peaceful life and work.

The process of the return of refugees has not become massive so far. The reason for it is not the unwillingness of Afghans to live in their native land. The process is hampered primarily by the Afghan armed opposition forces which use refugees as a cannon fodder for their armed detachments. Members of the "Peshawar Seven" put their posts around refugee camps and blocked all the roads to Afghanistan. They threaten refugees with (?danger), destruction, and unemployment that are allegedly awaiting them in Afghanistan. In an attempt to intimidate them, they tell the refugees that they will be subjected to severe repressions there. Men of the "alliance of the seven" do not stop short of open violence. They shoot dead those civilians that try to return home.

All this is being done with direct connivance of the Pakistani authorities that put up all sorts of obstacles on the way of the refugees. Attacks on refugees staged by Pakistani servicemen and the police, as well as looting have become a common occurrence. This was pointed out on more than one occasion in protest notes of the Afghan Government handed over to U.N. representatives who control the observance of the Geneva accords.

Islamabad obviously ignores the Geneva accords and evades the participation in the creation of mixed Afghan-Pakistani commissions on putting in order and placing under control the process of the return of refugees. Such contacts, both bilateral ones and those with the participation of U.N. observers, are absolutely necessary. They would undoubtedly promote a quick return of 200,000 refugees kept by the opposition forces in refugee camps in the Haripur area, as well as of hundreds of thousands of refugees from other parts of Pakistan.

Kabul which strictly fulfils the Geneva accords is doing its utmost for facilitating the return of refugees. Border-crossing points were determined, centres for receiving refugees were created, transport vehicles were prepared for taking refugees to places of their permanent residence. Those who return home are given material assistance. From the legal point of view they have the same rights as the rest of the Afghan citizens.

The road to Afghanistan is wide open to millions of the Afghan people. Their native land is waiting for them. Their skill and their labour are needed for the restoration of the country, for the creation of a peaceful, non-aligned and independent Afghanistan. They should not be hampered, and no obstacles should be put up on their way.

Case of Soviet POW in Afghanistan Described
AU2906143188 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 25 Jun 88 p 4

[NOVOSTI report: "The Fate of Soviet Prisoners of War in Afghanistan; In the Clutches of Suffering and Death"]

[Text] The problem of Soviet soldiers who in the course of fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan found themselves in captivity is currently at the center of the interest of the general international public. As is known, the Soviet Government recently turned to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar with the entreaty to help clarify the fate, trace, free, and repatriate Soviet soldiers missing in Afghanistan. The Soviet NOVOSTI press agency has sent us the following story on the fate of one of them:

"I am a Russian soldier whom they took prisoner. Our armed personnel carrier exploded on a mine, two people were killed, I was wounded and taken prisoner. I am writing this in the hope that someone might find this little card." This is the report left behind by one of the

311 Soviet soldiers who disappeared without trace on Afghan territory. Today it is known that about one third of them were killed in combat.

On 6 December 1983, a group of Soviet soldiers found an overturned burning armored personnel carrier on the well-known mountainous Salang arterial road near the Hindjshan settlement. After extinguishing the fire, they extricated the bodies of the two dead crew members from the combat vehicle. They searched for the third one, for enlisted man Kashirov, until late in the evening without success.

A middle-aged man came to the consular section of the Soviet Embassy in France in summer 1984. He said that he was a journalist and has come at the request of his fellow citizen—a medical doctor, who was in Panjsher in Afghanistan. He was bringing a message from him. It was a small parcel containing several color photographs, on which there was a man with a haggard and unshaven face. On his right eye he was wearing a gauze dressing fixed with self-adhesive tape. Behind him there was a self-made crutch. In the envelope there was a message in Russian in his handwriting, which ended with the words: "... as you see, Ma, instead of being home, I am in Panjsher."

Soviet intelligence agents in Afghanistan also collected further information on enlisted man Kashir. The rebels thought the soldier, who had lost his leg, was an officer, and took him, unconscious, to their base. When they discovered that they had made a mistake, that he was not an officer, they buried him under a heap of stones. When the doctor—a foreigner—who was in the area of the base near the town of Astan found out that the young fellow was still alive, he decided to rescue him. Various steps were taken to ascertain the location of the Soviet soldier, but no reliable track was found. Only on 18 July 1984 reconnaissance men from one of the Soviet units in the Panjsher area discovered the aforementioned anonymous written message among captured documents. From all indications, they concluded that the message was written by enlisted man Kashirov. But, of course, that was quite some time ago, and thus—again—nothing more definite could be ascertained. True, there was not and is not any shortage information to show how cruelly the extremists treated their Soviet prisoners.

One of them, who was rescued during a military operation in September 1984, provided interesting details. He said that the jail in which the Soviet soldiers were held was frequently visited by journalists from the United States, France, and Britain. They brought anti-Soviet literature and told the soldiers that they could get out of captivity if they agreed to go to the West. This soldier also supplied the latest news about Kashirov. He had not met him, but he had heard from a guard that one of the captured soldiers had tried to escape, although he only had one leg and had also lost one eye. However,

Karim did not succeed in escaping, the guard said. And it has been confirmed that the bandits called Kashir precisely by that name: Karim.

Kashir's later fate is still unknown. It is not even certain that he is still alive. Only one thing is certain: Kashirov, holder of the Order of Red Star, would not betray the honor of a soldier. The enemy captured him bleeding and unconscious. But no one saw him broken and humiliated.

Academician Discusses Rights of Soviet POW's
PM2806135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Our correspondent M. Kozhevnikov "IZVESTIYA Interview" with G.M. Melkov, candidate of juridical sciences and specialist on international law: "Fate of Prisoners of War and International Law"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] We found out quite recently that 311 Soviet internationalist soldiers are missing in Afghanistan. It has become known that approximately one-third of them perished in combat and the search for the rest is still going on. Many are now in prison. Where are they being kept and in what conditions? Who bears responsibility for their lives and health? When are they to be released? This worries not only their relatives and friends.

The IZVESTIYA editorial office is receiving hundreds of letters whose authors are alarmed about the fate of their imprisoned compatriots. The readers are, in particular, interested in which international agreements guarantee the security of prisoners of war and determine the procedure for their return home.

Our correspondent spoke to G.M. Melkov, candidate of juridical sciences and specialist on international law.

[Melkov] First, I will dwell on the most important international legal documents now in force applying to military prisons and prisoners of war. They include primarily the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 on the laws and customs of infantry warfare, the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the treatment of prisoners of war, and a number of other international documents.

The norms enshrined in the aforementioned documents are recognized by most states of the world and those countries which have not recognized them are forced to fulfill them as customary norms of international law. That is why any participant in any armed conflict, be it international or internal, must not violate these norms even if the combatant sides (or one of them) are not a party to the agreements in question. I want to stress that the armed Afghan opposition must also observe these norms.

[Kozhevnikov] How do the international agreements that you have cited define the concept of "prisoner of war" and how do they protect the rights of prisoners?

[Melkov] A prisoner of war is not a criminal but a disarmed adversary who is temporarily in the power of a hostile state (the other combatant side) but not in the power of the individuals or military units (bandit groups) who have captured him. The state (or combatant side) holding them prisoner bears full responsibility for the treatment of prisoners of war and is obliged to provide them with adequate supplies of food and water and also to give them the necessary clothing and medical aid.

Whatever the circumstances prisoners of war must enjoy humane treatment and protection without any discrimination whatsoever and without distinction of race, color, nationality, creed, sex, religion, property, and other similar criteria.

International agreements prohibit the killing of prisoners of war, their torture and inhuman treatment, the deliberate withholding of medical aid for wounded or sick prisoners, and so on.

The convention on the treatment of prisoners of war gives each one the right at the time of capture or at the very latest 1 week after arrival in a camp to send a postcard to his close family and the International Red Cross (Switzerland) Central Information Agency for POW Affairs. This agency amasses all the information regarding prisoners of war that it receives through official or private channels. All prisoners of war—and this is especially important—must be released and repatriated immediately following the cessation of hostilities.

[Kozhevnikov] The facts attest that some Soviet servicemen who were captured by the Afghan Mujahidin are being held on Pakistani territory. Who in this case bears responsibility for our soldiers' safety?

[Melkov] Under existing norms of international law, the leadership of the Afghan armed opposition bear full responsibility completely and exclusively for the life and health of Soviet soldiers who have been captured. But...the opposition only bears this exclusive personal responsibility within Afghanistan, on whose territory military operations were carried out and where the prisoners of war were taken. As soon as Soviet prisoners of war find themselves on Pakistani territory, the responsibility for their life and health is also borne, in addition to the opposition leadership, by the Pakistani Government, since it alone has sovereign power within its own territory.

[Kozhevnikov] What steps in that case is the Pakistani Government obliged to take?

[Melkov] It must above all immediately remove all Soviet and Afghan prisoners of war from the control of the Afghan opposition, intern them in special camps under its control, compile and hand out lists of the internees (former prisoners of war) to the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, and the Central Information Agency for POW Affairs, and also take steps to release and repatriate Soviet and Afghan servicemen without delay. As a first step the Pakistani Government must give USSR and Afghan representatives and International Red Cross representatives the chance to visit these camps and establish direct contacts with Soviet and Afghan soldiers. In this context the Soviet people and the USSR Government are entitled to expect immediate and effective aid from the International Red Cross.

[Kozhevnikov] One last question, finally. Bourgeois propaganda intimidates Soviet prisoners of war with the "strict punishment" which allegedly awaits them on their return home. This is a reference to the procedure prevailing in our country at the time of the personality cult. What can you say on this question?

[Melkov] Soviet people indeed still remember the events of the Great Patriotic War when every soldier who was captured, even when unconscious, could be regarded as a perfidious traitor liable to strict punishment.

Those times are past. There is not and cannot be any return to the past. Prisoners of war are not criminals and they cannot be held responsible for being captured.

IZVESTIYA Interviews Afghan Army General
PM2806124588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Colonel General Tanay, chief of the Afghan Army General Staff, conducted by own correspondent D. Meshchaninov under the "IZVESTIYA Interview" rubric: "General Tanay: The Republic Will Stand Its Ground"]

[Text] Kabul—At your correspondents's request Colonel General Shahnawaz Tanay, commander in chief of the Afghan Army General Staff, talks about the military and political situation in Afghanistan since the signing of the Geneva agreements:

"The Geneva agreements have inspired real hope of a political settlement around and within Afghanistan. The nub of the accords is clear and simple: The Afghan people themselves must decide their homeland's destiny without any external interference.

"As is well known, Pakistan was to eliminate the 'material base' for such interference from its territory by 15 May. This has not happened, however. More than 100 centers and paramilitary camps for training fighters continue to operate there. Large consignments of weapons and munitions continue to be sent deep into Afghanistan with the Pakistani authorities' clear connivance.

"We have never recorded so many caravans and convoys illegally crossing the Afghan-Pakistan border. I will give an example. In just one day recently Afghan Army units seized two large convoys comprising several dozen heavy trucks brimming with weapons and munitions. The first was heading toward Jalalabad, the second toward Paktika Province.

"Artillery shelling of Spin Buldak region and Khowst district from Pakistan territory continues. An increase in rebel activity is recorded in the Qandahar region and in Nangarhar and Ghazni provinces. Rockets are being fired on Kabul and a number of provincial and regional centers, resulting mainly in the death of civilians—old people, women, and children. Operations by armed opposition detachments continue to be directed by Western advisors.

"Aware of their patrons' all-around support," Tanay went on, "the 'intransigents' continue banking on force of arms alone rather than reason and reject the proposals put forward by people's power that all disputes be resolved at the negotiating table. Anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet propaganda has been markedly stepped up. Methods of disinformation are being used.

"Not long ago, for example, radio stations were broadcasting that Major General Muhammad 'Aziz, chief of the Air Force Staff, had met a violent death in Qandahar at the hands of the mujahidin. He had indeed died, but not in Qandahar and not at the hands of the mujahidin, he had died in Kabul's Central Military Hospital from a second heart attack. Or another example. Rumors are persistently spread abroad in the capital that residential districts are coming under rocket fire from...Afghan and Soviet troops. Come now!

"Immediately after the signing of the Geneva agreements the opposition leaders, who have dug in and are still well ensconced in the Pakistani city of Peshawar, began claiming that as soon as units of the limited Soviet contingent withdraw from a particular province the 'fighters for the faith' will crush the Afghan army and take power into their own hands.

"Jalalabad, where Soviet troop withdrawal began 15 May in strict conformity with the Geneva agreements, was named as the opposition's most likely headquarters. According to the rebel plan the city was to fall by 1 June. The date was then put back 10 days, and then another 10 days. And recently Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan,' stated that the 'plans for Jalalabad have changed.' I do not know what he has in mind, in any event the city is still reliably under the control of people's power and the leaders of the opposition are increasingly of late engaging in wishful thinking. It was undoubtedly at their prompting that Western radio stations broadcast news of the rebel seizure of Qalat—the administrative center of Zabol Province. Incidentally, on the very day that the latest piece of disinformation was broadcast a representative jirga of

clergy and leaders, which took the unanimous decision to promote in every way the implementation of our government's course of ending the senseless bloodshed, was held in Qalat.

"The situation, above all in the provinces bordering Pakistan, remains very tense," Colonel General Tanay said. "The 'intransigents' are continuing to do everything possible to wreck the process of national reconciliation. Under these conditions the Afghan Army is forced to carry out combat operations to crush armed opposition detachments and seize weapons and munitions dumps. And yet we are endeavoring to operate more by force of the word than force of arms. For that reason it would be more correct to call our operations military-political than military.

"In the period of just over a month since the Geneva agreements entered into force more than 2,000 members of the opposition have ceased the armed struggle, and talks are being held with dozens of middle-rank leaders about ending the armed struggle.

"At the same time conflicts within the opposition camp are getting worse. As is well known, G. Hekmatyar, who was until recently leader of the 'Alliance of Seven,' has ceded his place to Sayyed Ahmad Gaylani, leader of the 'National Islamic Front of Afghanistan.' Fierce clashes between armed formations belonging to different opposition groups are flaring up increasingly on Afghan territory. According to our figures, about 50 people die or are wounded each day as a result of internecine slaughter....

"I am not given to embellishing the situation," Shahnawaz Tanay concluded. "The situation remains difficult. However, it should not be dramatized either. The Afghan Army is successfully carrying out its functions.

"The Afghan problem cannot be solved by force of arms. It is time for those who continue to fuel the flames of the undeclared war and generously subsidize the extremist to realize this obvious fact. The path to peace in Afghanistan lies through dialogue, sensible compromises, good will, and an end to interference in our country's internal affairs. But for the time being Pakistan and the United States continue to grossly violate the Geneva agreements. Geneva provided a unique opportunity to solve the Afghan question. It is immoral and criminal not to take this use this opportunity to bring about a peaceful future for the Afghan people."

'Vremya' Reports on Afghan Parliament Session
LD2706203888 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1430 GMT 27 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; A. Shkirando report from Kabul]

[Text] A regular meeting of the National Assembly, the parliament of the Republic of Afghanistan, was held in Kabul today:

[Shkirando] Several days ago, in this same place, the new government, headed by Muhammad Hasan Sharq, received a vote of confidence from parliament, and today parliament is hearing a report by one of the members of the cabinet, Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil, on the question which most concerns all Afghans—the implementation of the Geneva agreements. Judging from the information set out in the report by the Afghan foreign minister, the Pakistan's irresponsible position is jeopardizing implementation of these documents, which are of such great importance for the cause of peace.

Since 14 May, that is, since the coming into force of the Geneva agreements, up to the present day, says 'Abdul Wakil, we have conveyed to the leadership of Pakistan through a group of UN observers 33 notes, which report 222 violations from the 437 that have occurred. Nevertheless, the activity of the headquarters of the Afghan opposition groups is still continuing on Pakistan's territory. Camps are active in training terrorists. Ammunition and weapons are transferred from Pakistan to the Afghan opposition, 'Abdul Wakil continues, in the demilitarized zone on the territory of Afghanistan which was created by the Afghan Government in order to provide returning refugees with favorable conditions. But the camps of the refugees themselves located on the territory of Pakistan are completely blocked. Foreign advisors, including Pakistani ones, are sent on to our territory from Pakistan together with bands of members of the opposition armed with the most up-to-date weapons, in order to organize armed attacks on border posts, towns and villages in Afghanistan. [Video shows parliament in session, presumably, Wakil making his address]

The situation that has taken shape since Geneva evokes serious alarm and concern among all Afghans aspiring to peace. The documentary facts and figures cited at today's session, says Sayyed Rakhman, bear witness that Pakistan is simply ignoring the commitments it took on in Geneva. On the other hand, Pakistan's actions lead one to believe that the government of that country assesses implementation of the agreements as a matter meant exclusively for Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, at the same time as it demands the participation of all sides whose signatures are affixed to these important documents. But the key principle of the Geneva agreements is the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of our country. [Video shows interview with Sayyed Rakhman, parliamentary deputy]

The messages from the National Assembly of the Republic of Afghanistan to the peoples and parliaments of the world, and also to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, contain requests to spread the truth about Afghanistan at the United Nations, and in many countries of the world, so that all peoples might hear the peace loving call of the Afghan people. [Video shows more shots of the assembly in session]

Briefs

Algerian Friendship Celebration

Moscow, 25 Jun (APS)—The Algero-Soviet Friendship Association celebrated on Thursday the 26th anniversary of the independence of Algeria. In their interventions, the spokesmen presented exposes on the evaluation of the Algero-Soviet cooperation during these 25 years while putting a stress on the large prospects introduced by the visit of President Chadli Bendjedid in the USSR on March 1986, in the reinforcement of this cooperation in the political, economic, scientific and cultural fields. The spokesmen also pointed out the convergence of points of view of the two countries on a great number of topical international questions. [Text] [LD2606020588 Algiers APS in English 1010 GMT 25 Jun 88]

East Europe

Hungarian, Romanian Reports on Relations Cited
LD3006210188 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1700 GMT 30 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] According to AGERPRES reports, a plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee in Bucharest has endorsed the contents of a letter from the RCP Central Committee addressed to the MSZMP Central Committee on the problem of relations between Romania and Hungary. Those taking part in the plenum noted that it is essential to do everything to normalize relations in order for them to develop in a spirit of cooperation, trust, and good-neighborliness on the basis of equal rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, and nonintervention in internal affairs in accordance with the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and other joint documents. Nicolae Ceaucescu spoke at the RCP Central Committee plenum. He said that history predetermined that the Romanian and Hungarian peoples should be neighbors. It is their duty to cooperate more closely with one another in the name of economic and social progress. Responsibility for implementing this desire of the peoples for cooperation and good-neighborliness lies with the parties, the leadership, and the governments of the two countries. The plenum also examined organizational issues.

Budapest—The MTI agency has distributed a report in connection with the decision of Romania's party and government leadership on terminating the activity of the Hungarian general consulate in Cluj-Napoca. Noting the gravity of such a step as a violation of the consular agreements between the two countries, MTI stresses the Hungarian Government's determination to conduct a policy aimed at deepening friendship between the Hungarian and the Romanian peoples and comprehensively

developing Hungarian-Romanian cooperation. MTI also recalls that at the end of 1985 Romania closed its general consulate in Debrecen, pointing to economic motives.

Supreme Soviet Congratulates Hungary's Straub
LD3006192588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a cable of congratulations to Comrade Straub, chairman of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, on the occasion of his election to the post. The message expresses confidence that the fraternal friendship and all-around cooperation between our countries and peoples will continue to develop steadfastly in the interests of consolidating the unity and cohesion of the socialist community and the triumphing of the cause of peace on earth.

PRAVDA Interviews Hungarian Ambassador Rajnai
PM2906143788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Hungarian Ambassador to the USSR Sandor Rajnai by B. Averchenko and O. Losoto under the rubric "Meetings at Your Request"; "Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary"; date, place not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] At our readers' request, the Socialist Countries Desk continues its publication of materials describing the activity of fraternal countries' embassies in our country. Today we publish an interview with Sandor Rajnai, Hungary's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What can you say today about the time when an exceptionally difficult situation developed in your country and the enemies of socialism launched a counterrevolutionary insurgency in 1956?

[Rajnai] Honestly speaking, I have always had more enthusiasm and faith than doubts. And I am always amazed when some representatives of my generation start claiming that they always had a precise and correct perception of all problems. I can say frankly that I did not always correctly perceive the prevailing situation. True enough, I did have some inner doubts on certain questions, especially after 1950, but I cannot declare that I perceived the danger hanging over the country. This may be seen as self-criticism, but man—if he is not to be identified with those animals which easily change their skins—cannot get away from his conscience, he cannot step outside himself. In any case, speaking with hindsight, I believe that the mistakes committed during that period were very serious.

[Correspondent] Tell us, do young people know about that time, about M. Rakosi who held the post of first secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party Central Committee and applied sectarian-dogmatic methods of leadership, or about I. Nagy, former head of the Hungarian Government, around whom right-wing opportunist elements grouped themselves?

[Rajnai] I believe few young people know about this. And they have a very poor idea of the true depth of the processes which occurred, of the specific complex and confused conditions. Young people would rather see the mistakes which were committed, and it is perfectly understandable that they find it easy to criticize previous generations since they have not been involved in either the mistakes committed or the results achieved. It is good, however, that young people approach these questions objectively rather than subjectively, even though we must say that it is not always pleasant for our generation....

[Correspondent] Never mind, let us turn back to current affairs. Restructuring is also under way in your country. What are the similarities and differences between your restructuring and ours?

[Rajnai] A very important question. After 1956, we in Hungary had to take a candid look at the past and, on many questions, change our attitudes toward what had been done in the past and the way it had been done. We are, moreover, talking about questions of principle. For example, the party's role, its ties with the masses, the situation in society, and so on. Today we are living in a period which has brought restructuring along with it and we can freely discuss all these questions, there are no prohibited topics. An analysis of the events of 1956 showed that we needed to revert to Lenin's definition of the party's role. Not to command, not to rule, but to serve the people—this is its task. That was the time when our principle was born: Whoever is not against us is with us.

The country needed to ensure adequate food supplies. Abandoning the former approach to the peasantry, we implemented a reorganization of agriculture. The so-called former "kulaks" were allowed to join cooperatives. Not as leaders, of course, but as ordinary working members. We broke away from the practice of taking as much as possible from the countryside. The state invested huge amounts in agriculture—to a certain extent even at the expense of other sectors. It is not for nothing that people say that if the peasant is poor, the country is also poor. As regards foodstuffs, at least.

Within some 3-4 years we managed to create a firm and developed agriculture based on large-scale industrial production.

A few years later, there was no longer any need to persuade our peasants to join cooperatives. Later on we went on to the use of subsidiary plots. This was another

breach with past practice. We gave peasants wide scope to work on their plots in their free time, while working also on a cooperative or state farm. Today, for example, 46 percent of the meat produced in Hungary comes from subsidiary plots. Let me note that Hungary now produces more than 150 kg of meat per capita. This is one of the highest indicators in the world.

But let me get back to the main question. As a matter of fact, a certain restructuring was launched in our country many years ago. It was life itself that made it necessary to start it. The implementation of economic reform began after 1968.

In this context I would like to say a few words about the 32 years that have passed since 1956. This period can be roughly divided in two stages. The first 15-16 years were years of immediate political and economic upsurge, years of continued growth. This is probably the only such stage in Hungary's entire history. It is important to note that this stage began immediately after the counterrevolution. In those complex conditions our party managed to find strength and opportunities to attract a large part of the country's population to its side. But the second half of this 30-year period was altogether different. In my view, this happened because, in these consolidated conditions, the party somehow slackened, it appeared somehow spoiled by success. The political conditions were sound, the economic situation was favorable, and Communists seemed to feel that there was no need to go among the masses and conduct agitation on a daily basis. This was also helped by Comrade Janos Kadar's tremendous popularity. And thus gradually, resting content with our achievements (we call this phenomenon "consolidation disease," you call it "stagnation"), we started forgetting that all means of political persuasion must be used on a daily basis, that it is necessary to work with people constantly. Consequently, an adverse trend started developing in the early seventies in the economy. It was also linked with the oil price explosion, which created additional difficulties. And here we come to the second mistake that I would like to mention: Our party leadership felt that these problems ought not to be shifted onto the people's shoulders.

[Correspondent] What was the standard of living like?

[Rajnai] Quite high. Even though it did not rise for many years, it did not decline either. At the same time, indebtedness to the West doubled. Nor did we apply sufficient efforts in the sphere of scientific and technical progress. Meanwhile, we were proceeding from the old positions in preparing for the 13th party congress.

This answers the question about the differences in our restructuring. But what do we have in common, what links us in this work? Everything that you launched in 1985 opened the eyes of a considerable proportion of our Communists. On the one hand we realized: We can and must speak boldly about things that were formerly taboo. That was of great help to our party. There is something

else. Following your example, we realized that every worker can be criticized—from rank-and-file worker to minister. The third, and probably most important, assistance we received as a result of the Soviet restructuring is the democratization of the entire social life.

Both the economic situation and the political conditions in the country deteriorated as a result of the fact that the 13th MSZMP Congress drew conclusions which were not confirmed by life. My personal opinion is that Hungary found itself in conditions of economic crisis and was also moving in the direction of a political crisis. Something had to be done. It was decided to hold a national party conference. At this point it is important to mention the fact that the MSZMP Central Committee adopted a document which posed the question: What changes, what reforms do we want to implement in the political and economic spheres? This document was submitted for discussion by primary party organization in January this year. Communists submitted tens of thousands of remarks, and this made it clear that we had drafted a very weak document. The next Central Committee plenum adopted a new draft of the Theses which was better than its predecessor, but still did not fully satisfy the party masses. The summation of the proposals and remarks resulted in the creation of what was a third draft document, which was totally different from the first. That was a radical draft, and I must say that it was prepared not only by the Central Committee but also by the primary party organizations.

It became clear that the party leadership had an insufficiently deep knowledge of the prevailing situation and therefore had incorrectly assessed the situation in the party and the country. The party organizations sent as conference delegates people who unambiguously believed that both political and economic changes were needed. They resolutely expressed the opinion that they would like to see new leaders at the head of these processes. And that was what happened at the conference elections.

It seems to me that this party conference became a victory for the democratization being implemented within the party and society.

[Correspondent] This certainly speaks of the party's health and strength. Hungary is essentially entering a new stage in its development. What basic avenues could you point out?

[Rajnai] First of all I would like to mention several aspects of the political reform. What I have said above leads to the conclusion that the party masses and our entire society are in favor of the implementation of political reform. Let me point out several important elements. It is necessary to change the idea and perception of the party's leading role. It is called upon to elaborate political strategy and to persuade society to pursue it. Figuratively speaking, it is the party's duty and obligation to design the political edifice, while the state,

the government, and other organs must implement the construction of this edifice. If the home has been badly or incorrectly designed, responsibility for this rests with the party. But if the design is sound while its implementation has proved useless, responsibility rests primarily with those engaged in the construction work.

To continue. It is necessary to ensure an opportunity for every person and the whole people to freely express their opinion.

[Correspondent] What new developments are taking place in the life of the party itself?

[Rajnai] The framework of our conversation prevents me from dwelling on all issues and stipulations designed to actually guarantee internal party democracy. Let me mention only that we want to fully restructure relations between the Politburo and the Central Committee as a whole. The MSZMP Central Committee must make the decisions, and its decisions must be implemented by the Politburo. And something else. If the Central Committee intends to make a decision on a particularly important question, a draft of this decision must be first of all discussed by party organizations.

We will not consider it a tragedy if, over the next 1-2 years, on some specific issue, and in parallel with the party's opinion, we also have the opinion of the National Assembly or the government, the opinion of the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front, the Hungarian Communist Youth League, and so on. These opinions will reflect the interests of certain strata of the population represented by these organizations. We see this as political pluralism. And a truly correct decision can be made on the basis of diversity of opinions.

Right now I can tell your esteemed Soviet readers that the political debate in Hungary is not only unlikely to subside in the next few years but will, on the contrary, become more animated. For this it is of course necessary for our Communists to really sense the need to struggle and uphold the party's ideas. For example, the party's influence in parliament, in the local councils, and in the trade unions is actually exercised by the Communists who work there.

[Correspondent] So much for Hungary's change and development in the political sphere, as it were. How about the economic sphere?

[Rajnai] It is well known that we launched our economic reform 20 years ago. But this reform was not fully worked out, it was not fully implemented. There are different reasons why: both internal resistance and adverse external conditions—including, to put it bluntly, within the socialist community itself. We are, after all, talking about what you call the stagnation period. We were also insufficiently convincing in upholding the reform.

Today we proceed from the premise that commodity-money relations in socialist Hungary must be accepted as a law of our society. This is one of the fundamental elements. In other words, commodity production must be based on market demand. At the same time, money, as a means, must become one of the most important elements for managing the country's economy. We have introduced a totally new—one could even say fundamentally new—banking system making possible independent credit facilities. Changes are being introduced in the structure of commodity production. The point is that one-third of our enterprises operate well. And this one-third supports the two-thirds of enterprises whose economic management is poor. We want to eliminate this situation. Enterprises must stand on their own feet, and we will support only those labor collectives which contribute to scientific and technical progress.

Price reform and wage reform constitute a most important element of the transformations. This is a very difficult and painful operation, but we are not in a position to avoid it, we cannot evade it. Briefly speaking, the essence of this operation can be summed up thus: Money will be earned in Hungary only by those who work. And not just by doing any work, but by producing the commodities needed by society.

The situation in Hungary is developing almost identically with that in the Soviet Union. Approximately one-third of workers are not needed where they are currently employed. This is very expensive for the state and for society as a whole. We want to accelerate the solution of this problem. But I must add right away that here we face a really major problem. The problem of our external debt, somewhere in the region of \$18 billion. True enough, some 7-8 billion of this sum have already been distributed by Hungary itself in the form of credits. This is why one of the basic provisions of the stabilization program is to reduce the growth of our debt in the next 2-3 years.

[Correspondent] Is your reform closely linked with the deepening of cooperation within CEMA?

[Rajnai] Certainly. And with the Soviet Union in particular. [passage omitted]

Polish Spokesman Cited on Gorbachev Visit
LD3006193288 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT
30 Jun 88

[Text] Warsaw June 30 TASS—"We attach tremendous importance to the forthcoming official friendly visit to Poland of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee", said Stefan Staniszewski, press spokesman of the Polish Foreign Ministry.

Addressing a press conference here today, he stressed that in Gorbachev Poles see the leader of the country with which they are bound by the closest allied ties, the

architect of reforms—perestroika and glasnost, the man who developed and implements the concept of the new thinking in international affairs.

The programme of the Soviet leader's stay in Poland was worked out so as to enable the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to meet representatives of the major segments of Polish society. It is planned that Gorbachev will deliver a speech in the Sejm, during the tour of the country will meet representatives of the working class and farmers, scientists and cultural personalities. Political talks will be held with Polish party and state leaders.

The upcoming visit has both bilateral and international dimension. New quality is manifest in all areas of Soviet-Polish relations—in politics, economy and superstructure. These relations are as close now as they have never been before. The philosophy of Polish renewal and Soviet perestroika are similar. The international importance of the visit is demonstrated by the fact that it will take place soon after the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow. This importance is also defined by the similarity of the two states' ideas and conceptions in European politics.

Mikhail Gorbachev is very popular in Poland, he enjoys great sympathy of the Polish people, which is forcefully confirmed by public opinion polls. We are convinced that a warm and cordial welcome will be accorded to the Soviet leader in Poland. The Polish people pin great hopes on the policy of perestroika (restructuring), Staniszewski noted.

West Europe

U.S. Diplomat Expelled From Portugal
LD0107061188 Moscow TASS in English 0604 GMT
1 Jul 88

[Text] Lisbon July 1 TASS—The Portuguese Government has declared the U.S. naval attaché to Portugal William Barney persona non-grata and expelled him from the country for the unlawful activities, the weekly "INDEPENDENTE" said today.

The American diplomat was forced to leave that country two days ago after he was caught in the act by the frontier guard services when he was taking photographs of facilities in the seaport of the city of Setubal. William Barney was first trying to present himself for a journalist, but when in the police station he was forced to admit that he was a member of the U.S. Embassy.

Greece Welcomes Soviet Proposals on Bases
LD2906170288 Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT
29 Jun 88

[Text] Athens June 29 TASS—Greece welcomes the new Soviet proposals aimed at eliminating foreign military presence and military bases on other people's territories in the period ending in the year 2000, stated an official spokesman for the Greek Government.

The spokesman pointed out that the Government of Greece regarded the proposals as a considerable contribution to the efforts towards strengthening peace and security for all people in the Mediterranean area and in the Balkans, as well as to the attempts being made to curb the arms race.

Greece, he said, wants the region to be known not only as the cradle of civilisation but also to turn it into a model of peaceful coexistence, cooperation and progress of the countries situated in the area.

Government Condolences on Paris Rail Crash
PM3006100188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
30 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 8

[USSR Council of Ministers condolence message to French Prime Minister Rocard]

[Text] Please accept, Mr Prime Minister, our sincere condolences in connection with the Paris rail crash. We ask you to express our profound sympathies to the families of the dead and injured.

USSR Council of Ministers

Latin America & Caribbean

Panamanian Minister, Others on U.S. Position
LD0107033388 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT
29 Jun 88

[Text] Havana June 29 TASS—News agencies report that the U.S. Administration does not cease the campaign to destabilize the situation in Panama, stated Jorge Eduardo Ritter, Panamanian minister of foreign affairs, who is currently in Mexico City.

Washington, he said in an interview with journalists, does not recognize the new president of the republic, Manuel Solis Palma, in the hope that, as a result of U.S. pressure on Panamanian authorities and economic sanctions, the USA will manage to impose upon Panama a government obedient to U.S. diktat.

A branch of the Anti-Imperialist Tribunal of Latin America—an organisation which brings together progressive lawyers of the continent—has begun its work in Panama. The participants in the tribunal strongly condemned the U.S. Administration's hostile actions against Panama, the actions which are aimed, in particular, at deposing General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of Panama's National Defence Forces.

Jose Juan Seballos, a Panamanian lawyer, who spoke at the tribunal's session, demanded an immediate end to U.S. subversive activity against the country and recompense for the damage done to it.

The PRENSA LATINA news agency has reported that one of the high-ranking CIA officers has clandestinely arrived in Panama to establish contacts with right-wing opposition for the purposes of coordinating hostile actions against the republic's government. It is supposed that the emissary is Colonel Denis Caffrey, one of the organisers and inspirers of the military coup in Chile in September 1973. An unidentified person who called up the news agency's bureau said the CIA officer had handed over 85,000 dollars to representatives of the opposition.

U.S. plans to evacuate the personnel of the U.S. Embassy from Panama within the first ten days of July have also come to light.

The newspaper CRITICA reports that this fact as well as the transfer of three thousand U.S. servicemen to Panama in recent months are a disquieting signal of the existence of interventionist plans with regard to Panama.

El Salvadoran Party Leader Views Struggles
PA2906134788 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress
in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Statements by Jorge Shafik Handal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of El Salvador; date, place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The crisis in Jose Napoleon Duarte's government and party has worsened in the past few months in El Salvador. This is also the case in various government institutions such as the presidency; the Legislative Assembly [word indistinct]; the Supreme Court; and the Central Elections Council. The Christian Democratic Party has split into various factions. Duarte's faction has lost the leadership of his party. As president and leader, his authority has declined greatly. This is a result of the failure of the low-intensity, counterinsurgency strategy the U.S. Government has been implementing in El Salvador both in its political component—demonstrated by these examples I just mentioned—as well as in its less known military component.

As for its military component, the low-intensity strategy consisted of the reorganization and modernization of the Army, whose size was increased fivefold, and the introduction of tactics for irregular warfare. Supposedly with this plan, the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] would be defeated and the people would withdraw their support for it. However, the result has been quite the opposite. The Army has suffered heavy casualties, especially last year, when we inflicted an average of slightly over 20 casualties each day on the Army. This average has been the same in the first few months of this year.

We have also defeated the concept of low-intensity warfare. This has caused Army officers to distrust the strategy promoted by the United States and now other strategies are being sought. They are now seeking the

complete defeat of the guerrillas by using repression against civilians, who are supporting the guerrillas in war zones; against workers and popular movements in the cities; against democratic forces that favor the recovery of the country's sovereignty; and against all those forces that refuse to accept the idea that the FMLN can be militarily defeated. This is a desperate effort aimed at winning the war in a few months. After 8 years of experience, we can say that this effort will be defeated. In fact it is currently being defeated. The operations that have taken place since March, and shortly before then, show they are implementing this desperate strategy that has once again failed.

Recently, the Reagan administration has made great efforts to involve the Honduran Army in the Salvadoran war. Since March, Honduran Army incursions into El Salvador—especially in the FMLN's rear guard near the border, specifically in Chalatenango and Morazan Departments—have been more frequent. Now there are casualties on both sides. There are Honduran Army casualties as well. We have also suffered casualties in our clashes with the Honduran Army.

In addition, the Honduran Army has cooperated with the Salvadoran Army by allowing its territory to be used by Salvadoran troops, which set up their bases of operation in Honduras and then enter El Salvador near the FMLN's rear guard. We condemn this because we understand that in its last few days in power, the Reagan administration wants to see Central America in a higher level of conflict so the next U.S. President is forced to continue this policy.

We believe this is an appropriate time for the international community, along with the efforts made by the Central American people, to focus its attention on preventing the implementation of Reagan's policies by the next U.S. Administration. We believe this can be achieved if we are able to begin a real process of negotiations. We are trying to promote negotiations in El Salvador. We have sent a proposal to Duarte's government; to the Legislative Assembly, which was elected in 20 March; and to the Army leadership, which is the main center of power in the country.

Political & Social

Three Die in Yamburg Gas Pipeline Explosion

LD3006133388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] Izhevsk—A gas explosion occurred on one section of the new Yamburg-Tula-1 pipeline during final testing on Udmurt territory. A fire broke out which burned down crops and a nearby forest. Three people who were within 300 meters of the epicenter of the explosion were delivered to the nearest rural hospital with severe burns, but all three died. A special commission of the USSR Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises presently is investigating the reasons for the accident.

Solomentsev Views Restructuring in Kalinin

PM2206104988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
19 Jun 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "High Trust—High Demand"]

[Text] A Kalinin Oblast party aktiv meeting has discussed measures to fulfill the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee decision "On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of Kalinin Oblast CPSU Gorkoms and Raykoms and Their Party Commissions in Ensuring the Purity of Party Ranks in Light of the Demands of the 27th CPSU Congress."

Delivering the report, N.F. Tatarchuk, first secretary of the party obkom, pointed out that an improvement in the practice of shaping the party's ranks and ensuring their purity is a decisive condition for enhancing the party's vanguard role in the life of Soviet society. But it must be admitted self-critically that restructuring has not occurred in this very important sector of the work of city, rayon, and primary party organizations. A formal approach to selecting people for the party leads to the weakening of its ranks and the development of negative phenomena. And this alarms Communists. It is no coincidence that, in discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference, they have submitted many proposals aimed at the struggle to enhance the party's qualitative composition.

Participating in the discussion of the report were G.A. Kozlov, first secretary of Kalinin City's Proletarskiy CPSU Raykom; R.P. Ivanova, chairman of Staritskiy CPSU Raykom Party Commission; V.V. Andreyev, chief of Bologovskiy CPSU Raykom Organizational Department; G.A. Brausova, weaver at Vyshniy Volochek Cotton Combine; A.V. Nikolayev, first secretary of Ostashkovskiy CPSU Raykom; V.V. Lukyanov, worker at the "Nelidovskaya" Mine; and others.

The speakers named sources of positive experience accumulated by Upper Volga region party organizations in work on qualitatively replenishing the party's ranks and

ensuring their purity and spoke heatedly and with emotion about serious shortcomings in this key sector of the party's organizational work. In some places living, creative work is essentially tangled in nets of formalism and sometimes boils down to a statistical questionnaire approach. Many instances were cited of excessive regimentation in admitting people to the party—as a result of which many worthy people marching in the vanguard of restructuring ended up outside its ranks.

M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, addressed the party aktiv. He said that this meeting is taking place on the eve of a portentous event in the life of the party and the country—the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Every party organization and every labor collective is seeking to bring the best experience of restructuring to the conference. It is experience of searching hard for new ways, of surmounting many fixed ideas and stereotypes. It is experience of the development of democracy and glasnost, of the implementation of a radical economic reform and the moral and spiritual improvement of society. It is, in the final analysis, experience of the revival of the Leninist essence of socialism as a society of tremendous creative potential, a society of enterprising, creative people personally responsible for everything happening around them.

The chief thing today is to interpret what has been done over the 3 years of restructuring and to give a new boost to its cognition and development. This is precisely the aim of the nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses, which is taking place in the country. A good basis exists for the conference to adopt large-scale decisions. The party and the people have behind them 3 years of hard, strenuous work. We now have a proven concept, strategy, and tactic of restructuring. Its revolutionary principles have also been clearly defined: more democracy, more socialism. Now that restructuring has become the social practice and the living cause of millions upon millions of working people, it may be firmly stated that the party's strategic course aimed at the qualitative renewal of Soviet society is correct. There is no alternative to this course.

Rallying on the platform of restructuring, Soviet people are giving the revolutionary transformations increasingly effective support through their labor and social activeness. Today this is the chief trend in social development and the most important result of the first stage of restructuring.

Of course, it will still take a lot of time and effort to reveal in full the humane nature and the creative might of socialism, and this is precisely the aim of restructuring. It is important for everyone to become profoundly aware of and tune in psychologically to the fact that restructuring means work, work, and more work, whose success will depend literally on everyone.

Today there are many examples of people's truly responsible attitude to the business and fate of restructuring and of the whole country. And there are many such people in Kalinin Oblast. True stalwarts of restructuring, even when they encounter difficulties, they do not give in to them but maintain their businesslike mien and confidence and boldly resolve urgent questions.

Restructuring is continuing to gather momentum. It makes its presence felt not only through large-scale transformations designed for the long term. Current affairs are also changing for the better. A shift toward the accelerated development of the social sphere has begun. Specific decisions have been adopted on the restructuring of education and health care.

A special mention should be made of the implementation of the economic reform. Problems cannot be avoided here. There are cases where a state order is issued in violation of the Law on the State Enterprise. The initiative of enterprises is fettered by shortcomings in material and technical supplies. A number of ministries and departments take a bureaucratic stand and do not give enterprises practical assistance in work under the new conditions. And sometimes the Party Control Committee has to seriously set right individual leaders who take incorrect positions. However, to characterize the situation as a whole, the basic change is still in evidence. Working people are increasingly confidently mastering their rights, and their attitude to production and to social affairs is becoming increasingly solicitous.

Communists, above all, are responsible for restructuring, for the situation in the national economy, and for the satisfaction of people's vital needs, M.S. Solomentsev emphasized. There is and can be no vanguard role for Communists in general. It has to be manifested in real deeds. The work of Kalinin Oblast party organizations should be assessed from the viewpoint of practical results.

The speaker dwelt on the progress in discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses in the oblast. Communists and working people, he pointed out, are voicing approval for the party's policy of restructuring, supporting the Central Committee's platform expounded in the Theses, and expressing their opinion of fundamental questions of social development. Specific problems in the life of the oblast's party organizations and labor collectives are also being raised.

And many such problems have accumulated. Take the economy, for example. The speaker drew attention, in particular, to the fall in the pace of comprehensive production mechanization and automation and to the fact that one collective in every six fails to fulfill contract deliveries. Full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-management in the oblast's industry are taking their first steps.

In order to make fuller use of production reserves, we must give serious and profound thought to how to commission the potential of primary party organizations above all. It is precisely to them, to primary party organizations and labor collectives, that the center of gravity of all organizational work must be shifted. It is also necessary to resolve questions of cadre selection with due regard for the opinion of Communists and labor collectives, making actual use of all the advantages of broadening democracy. It is now necessary, as the party demands, to firmly grasp the fact that the administrative, pressure style of economic leadership does not contribute to successful work but directly hinders it.

It is understandable that people assess the results of restructuring, above all, by the tangibility of progress in supplying food and satisfying people's other vital needs. The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum named the food problem among the problems requiring priority attention. It is very easy to feel the acuteness of it—you only have to look at store counters. Unfortunately, the situation in the oblast is improving only slowly, not at the pace we would like.

Dwelling on the causes of this situation, M.S. Solomentsev pointed out that the party organization has not eliminated the chief shortcoming in developing agriculture—the return on the capital invested is extremely low. At the same time, he emphasized that it is now no longer possible to secure sizable weight gains and harvest increases without actively introducing new forms of labor organization—without the family, team, and lease contract. Unfortunately, this work of a truly revolutionary nature is sometimes carried out without in-depth economic analysis and frequently smacks of formalism. It is necessary to rely more on the opinion of Communists, primary party organizations, and labor collectives also in the selection and placing of cadres in the countryside.

M.S. Solomentsev drew special attention to the social questions of rural development. Much has been done in recent years, he said, to rectify the mistakes made earlier. Some progress is apparent in Kalinin Oblast too. However, housing construction and medical and consumer services for the population are still lagging behind. There are not enough schools and children's establishments in the countryside. Everyone—both economic leaders and party and soviet cadres—must be accountable for this, with no allowances made. Developing the social sphere in the countryside means strengthening the present and the future of the oblast and of the whole non-Chernozem zone. Of course, we also must not lose sight of the problems of concern to city dwellers.

Whatever sphere of social life we take, the speaker continued, nowhere can we dispense with the ability to think and act creatively, to seek and adopt nonstandard decisions and approaches. This is precisely why the party has adopted the firm policy of the all-around democratization of sociopolitical life, regarding it as the central task of restructuring.

The reports of elective organs on work in directing restructuring have been an important step in the democratization of party life and in the strengthening of control "from below." The oblast's working people have voiced approximately 3,000 specific wishes, pieces of advice, and suggestions aimed at improving this work. Many Communists believe that party committees must more persistently overcome the command style of leadership which fetters people's initiative. And it is, of course, impossible to disagree with this.

The chief thing now—and this is the aim of the Central Committee and its Theses—is to change the style and substance of the work of party committees. To ensure that they use political measures, not command-administrative measures, and do not tackle current economic questions but concentrate efforts on fundamental political, socioeconomic, and ideological problems, on implementing an efficient cadre policy, on the control and verification of execution, and on organizational and educational work among the masses.

Everyone knows how widely questions of the qualitative composition of the party's ranks and of the fulfillment of the Communists' vanguard role are now being discussed in the party and in society during the preparations for the conference. The times demand the full revival of the Leninist concept of party-mindedness. The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee used the lofty yardsticks dictated by party decisions and by life itself in its approach to checking work in the Kalinin Oblast CPSU organization on ensuring the purity of party ranks.

The check showed that many party gorkom and raykom and party commission personnel and many primary party organization secretaries have still not drawn the necessary conclusions from the 27th congress decisions and the provisions of the CPSU Program and Statutes on ensuring the purity of party ranks. The necessary restructuring has not happened in this very important sector of internal party life. A businesslike, constructive discussion is taking place today. Communists are visibly concerned at the state of affairs and want not just to rectify it but to find solutions that will rule out a future repetition of the serious shortcomings noted during the check. M.S. Solomentsev voiced confidence that the Kalinin Oblast party organization will find such solutions and be able to implement them.

He went on to dwell on some central aspects of the struggle for purity and honesty among the party membership. The party's ranks must be filled by the most worthy, morally clean people who have proved themselves true champions of restructuring and renewal, implacable toward any deviations from socialist principles. The opinion of the overwhelming majority of Communists and Soviet people is this: Selection for the party must be conducted openly and in public, with due regard for a comprehensive analysis of the person's business, political, and moral qualities.

The check showed that the party committees of a number of the oblast's cities and rayons and their party commissions show scant concern for creating a reserve for admission to the CPSU. In party organizations such as the Konakovo and Ostashkov City organizations and the Selizharovskiy and Firovskiy Rayon organizations party admissions have for a number of years been conducted in a campaign style, at the end of the quarter. The reduction in the proportion of industrial workers among the people admitted to the party can hardly be considered normal. The party stratum in the countryside and in the social sphere is also plainly inadequate. Replenishment of the oblast party organization through the Komsomol has fallen 5.7 percent in recent years.

The situation of broad glasnost and democracy which is becoming established in society is making radical corrections to the practice of admitting people to the party. Preliminary discussion of applications for admission to candidate membership of the CPSU at meetings of labor collectives is now becoming the norm, as noted in the Central Committee Theses. The Central Committee regards this as an initial condition for selecting truly progressive and worthy people for the party. This is understandable. For no one is better qualified to judge whether or not a person is worthy of bearing the lofty title of party member than his comrades at work.

People in some places, however, are getting around the new norms of party democracy that are becoming established. They endeavor to carry out admissions to the CPSU chiefly at closed party meetings. This is the practice in Toropetskiy Rayon, for example, where just 17 percent of admissions to CPSU candidate membership in the past 2 years have taken place in open party meetings. And we cannot tolerate the fact that certain candidates are admitted practically without discussion at party meetings. Work with candidate party members is not up to scratch in the oblast party organization either. Many are not involved in fulfilling assignments and do not raise their ideological and political standards. An unexact approach on admission and the lack of control by raykoms, gorkoms, and their party commissions during the candidate probationary period are detrimental to party organizations and young Communists.

The Central Committee demands persistent work to ensure that the atmosphere in every party organization is characterized by high ideology-mindedness, mutual exactingness, and implacability toward shortcomings. With his pure and honest makeup the party member must assert the lofty values of socialism and set an example for emulation. Unfortunately, this does not always happen. There are many cases of violations of the norms and principles of communist morality and the Soviet laws by the oblast's Communists. In the space of 2 years almost 2,400 people have been expelled from the party or have left it, and party penalties have been imposed on more than 2,600 Communists. However,

Communists in the oblast party organization are not always called most strictly to account, in accordance with the requirements of the party Statutes.

The struggle for a pure and honest party membership, the speaker continued, is inseparably linked with the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism and with the assertion of a sober way of life. Drunkenness in the oblast remains an acute problem. Of course, we must not rely here just on administrative, proscriptive measures. We must, above all, carry out painstaking explanatory and educational work with the masses.

When speaking of enhancing exactingness toward Communists, a special mention must be made of Communist leaders. We know, M.S. Solomentsev pointed out, the educational significance of compliance with the principles of party comradeship and the equality of all party members before the CPSU Statutes. Any violations of these principles arouse the legitimate displeasure of Communists, as well as other Soviet people. And it is quite intolerable when party committees absolve Communist leaders of responsibility to primary party organizations and protect them from criticism from below. Despite the CPSU Central Committee's censure of such practice, many gorkoms and raykoms sometimes examine Communist leaders' misdemeanors in circumvention of primary party organizations and party commissions. Of the 764 penalties imposed on leading cadres in the oblast party organization over the past 2 years, 510 were imposed in circumvention of primary party organizations. Moreover, in a number of instances Communists in the primary organizations were not informed of these decisions. Evidently, not everyone has yet understood that in our country there is and can be no division into "upper" and "lower" strata. But everyone must firmly assimilate this truth.

Primary party organizations have the decisive say in the struggle for a pure and honest party membership. No gorkom or raykom, no control organ can control absolutely everything and keep an eye on everything. And this is not necessary. Something else is necessary—to enhance the creative tone of the life of party organizations and involve all Communists in vigorous social activity. It is the task of gorkoms, raykoms, and all the oblast party organization's party committees to create in every party organization a situation that will rule out any possibility of party norms' being violated by Communists. In 1987 2,765 Communist leaders publicly reported back, and 1 report in every 3 was accompanied by an approval of party references. Communists gave 17 leaders negative references and expressed mistrust of 14 of them.

The speaker went on to point out that the assertion of the principles and ideals of restructuring demands the activation of all organizational, political, and ideological educational work, the vigorous revival of the Leninist traditions of agitation and propaganda, and individual work with people. In conclusion M.S. Solomentsev

expressed the wish that the Communists of Kalinin Oblast should give a worthy greeting to the 19th all-union party conference and do everything to fulfill its decisions.

During 16-18 June, M.S. Solomentsev familiarized himself with the progress of restructuring in various sectors of social development and in labor collectives in Kalinin Oblast and with its party organization's preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

He had a long and interested discussion with Communists and working people at the Kalinin Welded Structures Plant.

The chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee noted with satisfaction the tremendous role of the labor collective council in restructuring the plant's work. It is actively involved in improving the production process and improving the cultural and domestic living conditions of every person working at the enterprise.

At the Kalinin Excavator Plant the question of improving the product's technical characteristics and enhancing its competitiveness on the world market was raised.

M.S. Solomentsev visited new residential districts of Kalinin and inspected a number of its stores and cafes, including cooperative ones. Questions of expanding housing construction and eliminating the scarcity of foodstuffs and industrial goods in trade as quickly as possible were raised in conversations with city inhabitants.

The chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee toured the oblast and visited the cities of Vesyegonsk and Likhoslavl.

In conversation with the leaders and specialists of the "Vpered k Kommunizmu" Kolkhoz in Vesyegonskiy Rayon the work of this farm in making the switch to economic accountability and the lease contract was analyzed. Although restructuring has enlivened the collective's initiative, nonetheless great difficulties are to be observed on the farm.

During the same period, thanks to the switch to economic accountability, the neighboring Chapayev Kolkhoz has become profitable and field and livestock unit productivity has risen. Housing construction is being carried out systematically on the farm, and social and domestic conditions are improving. Kolkhoz members' work payments have increased to R200-300 a month.

The "Vpered" Sovkhoz in Likhoslavl'skiy Rayon is obliged to new forms of labor organization for its achievements. Even with a shortage of manpower, the family contract and the collective contract have enabled the farm to sharply increase labor productivity and raise indicators in livestock raising and crop production.

The chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee emphasized the need to enhance the role of local soviets in resolving social questions and improving working people's living conditions. Party organizations, particularly primary party organizations, are obliged to foster every working person's responsibility for end results and high working and living standards.

M.S. Solomentsev had talks with members of Kalinin CPSU Obkom Bureau.

He was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by N.F. Tatarchuk and Oblispolkom Chairman V.A. Suslov.

Ryzhkov, Others Sign Ex-Minister's Obituary
PM2906143388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Jun 88 p 8

[Unattributed obituary of "Ivan Flegontovich Sinitsyn"]

[Excerpts] Ivan Flegontovich Sinitsyn, personal pensioner of union status, died on 26 June 1988 at the age of 76. [passage omitted]

In 1965 he became USSR minister of tractor and agricultural machine building and headed that sector for 15 years right up until his retirement on pension.

In all the areas assigned him, I.F. Sinitsyn, who possessed diverse knowledge, a wealth of experience, and great organizational abilities, showed persistence and purposefulness in carrying out important national economic tasks. He was distinguished by a high sense of principle, exactingness, and a tactful and attentive attitude to people. He thereby earned the respect of all who had occasion to work with him.

N.I. Ryzhkov, V.P. Nikonov, N.N. Slyunkov, A.K. Antonov, L.A. Voronin, I.S. Silayev, A.I. Volskiy, M.S. Smiryukov, A.A. Yezhevskiy, V.M. Velichko, N.S. Konarev, N.A. Panichev, P.V. Finogenov, E.A. Kalinin, G.S. Kirichenko, M.S. Malinin, V.V. Melashchenko, Yu.N. P. rev, V.V. Postolnyy, A.M. Skrebtsov, V.I. Chernov, V.M. Shabanov, V.M. Dombrovskiy, and N.M. Budko.

Ligachev, Others Sign Kirghiz Poet's Obituary
PM2706150788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jun 88 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Kirghiz poet Tokombayev]

[Excerpts] Soviet multinational literature has suffered a grave loss. Hero of Socialist Labor and Kirghiz SSR People's Poet Aaly Tokombayev, member of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, has died aged 83. [passage omitted]

Ye.K. Ligachev, A.N. Yakovlev, P.N. Demichev, G.P. Razumovskiy, N.V. Talyzin, A.M. Masaliyev, Yu.P. Voronov, Yu.A. Sklyarov, T. Akmatov, A. Dzhumagulov, G.N. Kiselev, G.M. Markov, V.V. Karpov, V.K.

Yegorov, A. Agabayev, Ch.T. Aytmatov, S.A. Baruzdin, G.Ya. Baklanov, V.V. Bykov, Yu.V. Bondarev, Yu.N. Verchenko, O.T. Gonchar, S.P. Zalygin, Ye.A. Isayev, M. Kanoat, F.F. Kuznetsov, S.V. Mikhalkov, O.S. Suleymenov, Yu.I. Surovtsev, A.B. Chakovskiy, A. Yakubov.

Komsomol Previews Mironenko Conference Speech
PM2706135588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 26 Jun 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] More than 15 million people have spoken at Komsomol meetings during the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference. Young people have voiced almost 216,000 proposals and comments on each one of the provisions of the Theses. This information was presented to the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau, which examined the question "On Proposals From Komsomol Members and Young People for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the Main Provisions of Comrade V.I. Mironenko's Speech There." It is difficult within the time of the conference to expound the Lenin Komsomol stance. But it must be expounded. The theses provide an unclear picture of the role and place of the Komsomol in the political and state system of our society. Relying on the opinion of Komsomol members from the localities, the members of the Central Committee Bureau discussed the structure, nature, and fundamental provisions of the speech by Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

A great deal must be said and the party conference delegates must be consulted. Do they all know about young people's social position in society and about the problems experienced by the young generation as they embark on restructuring? For they constitute one-third of the most able-bodied population of our country. That is why today we simply cannot get by without an integral high-powered youth policy and without juridical, economic, and political mechanisms to implement it.

The Komsomol is not the CPSU's partner; it is its reserve and assistant and actively approves the restoration of Leninist norms of internal party life and supports the processes of democratization, the ousting of unworthy people, the abandoning of any organ that supplants state and economic organs and of petty tutelage of public organizations.

Relations between the Komsomol and other public organizations were the subject of vigorous debate both at the 20th Komsomol Congress and following it. The Central Committee's current position is as follows: The Komsomol will struggle both in words and deeds for the right to be the vanguard of all Soviet young people, but the Komsomol opposes monopolization of the right to express the total diversity of young people's interests whether it be by one or several public organizations. The

Komsomol is in favor of a united front being presented by Komsomol members and nonmembers and young people and adults in support of restructuring and welcomes the creation of independent public organizations whose activity would not contravene the USSR Constitution.

The Komsomol Central Committee Bureau deemed it necessary to point out at the party conference that the Komsomol considers its strategic task to be to foster Communist morality, of which Vladimir Ilich Lenin spoke at the 3d Russian Young Communist League Congress. The main thing here is education, labor, and also the attitude to public property, the environment, historical and cultural monuments, elderly people, invalids, orphans, and the memory of those who perished in the struggle for the interests of the working people during the revolutionary years and in the period of the personality cult, and the Patriotic War, while performing their international duty—in short the attitude to everything that does not belong to you personally. This is the supreme indicator of a man's internal culture and Communist morality.

Leaders of the youth mass media and academics took part in the discussion of the question.

Shalayev Interviewed on Trade Unions' New Tasks
PM2906085988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
23 Jun 88 pp 1-2

[Interview with AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev by TRUD correspondent V. Golovachev in the "Topical Interview" column: "Closer to Life, to Man's Interests"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The invigorating processes of restructuring are making fundamental changes to all walks of our life. Naturally, the unions cannot remain aloof from them. The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference emphasize that the unions, like other social organizations, are called on to participate actively in all processes of restructuring and restructure themselves, comprehending all over again their position and role and revealing their potential under the new conditions more fully. A most important question today is an improvement of their structure. At its second plenum (last December) the AUCCTU formed a representative commission (union activists, union body executives and so forth) which on a democratic basis is comprehensively studying and collating the numerous proposals concerning this complex set of problems.

A meeting of the commission was held recently, after which AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev described to TRUD correspondent V. Golovachev how the preparatory work is proceeding and what the contemplated areas of an improvement in the structure of the unions are and answered questions contained in letters from the paper's readers.

We surely need to begin with the current structure of the unions and their bodies, S.A. Shalayev said.

Currently 31 sectoral unions unite 708,000 primary organizations. Leadership thereof is exercised accordingly by union central committees (31) and 279 republic and 2,392 oblast, kray and equivalent committees. It is worth mentioning that seven, mainly nonproduction, sectoral unions have as part of their structure 22,510 union raykoms and gorkoms.

Interunion bodies—173 union councils—have been set up in the republics, krays and oblasts to coordinate the activity of union organizations on the corresponding territory.

In foregoing years the evolved structure corresponded, in the main, to the goals and tasks of the country's union movement (we are not speaking here of qualitative assessments of the actual content of the work). But today, when in accordance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum a fundamental restructuring of the management of the economy is being implemented and a process of a broadening of the independence of the workforce and the democratization of social life is under way, the need for a radical improvement in the structure of the USSR's labor unions is becoming obvious. The main areas here are a simplification of the structure, a reduction in its multitier nature and the surmounting of overorganization and bureaucratism based on the emphatic eradication of bureaucratic administration on the part of the machinery and a broadening of the powers of the local organizations.

[Golovachev] I would like to learn in more detail about the scheduled specific changes in the structure of the union bodies. This worries many readers, union activists particularly.

[Shalayev] It is impossible at this time to give unequivocal answers, I believe. First, the structure of the administration of the national economic complex has yet to take shape conclusively, and the structure of the unions also will depend on this to a large extent. Some people are in a hurry: let us firmly establish our structure without losing time, and then, in line with changes in the national economic complex, it may be adjusted... But we cannot live and work in a constant state of reorganization. I shall give just one example. State production associations (GPO) were set up at the start of the year. But there organization in many sectors was soon seen to be inexpedient for the GPO therein had become one further superstructure and superfluous managerial component. It is easy to imagine what confusion the creation of the corresponding union bodies and their subsequent liquidation would have introduced initially.

Second, the work on improving the structure of the unions is not finished, the debate continues, and the final decision will, in accordance with our democratic standards, be adopted by the upcoming AUCCTU plenum. Incidentally, following publication of this interview the commission will collate and analyze the opinions which will be expressed in letters to the AUCCTU, the union authorities and the TRUD editorial office. The proposals and differing viewpoints will be reported in detail to the AUCCTU plenum also.

But as yet it can only be a question of the guidelines and principles of an improvement in the structure, which will be specified, supplemented and, perhaps, changed at the plenum.

The intention is to bring the union structure more into line with the new sectoral and territorial structure of management of the economy. As is known, a two-tier system, in the main, is being established in the production sectors: enterprise (association)—ministry. It is evidently logical to have in the corresponding sectoral union also in place of the multitier, "heavy" system the appropriate structure: union committee—union central committee. Of course, it will in this case be necessary to abolish the obkoms of the unions which have a small number of primary organizations and lack "par" economic management authorities on the oblast tier. How many obkoms precisely? A preliminary analysis conducted in conjunction with the union central committees shows that almost half the obkoms (kraykoms) could be abolished, given such a reorganization, in production unions.

The sectoral union central committees must, of course, take account of the region's specifics. If there are many organizations and enterprises of a given sector here, it may be necessary to preserve the obkom or kraykom.

As far as unions of the agro-industrial complex and the nonproduction sectors of the economy are concerned, it is proposed to retain their structure, in the main. This is explained by the fact that they have a large number of small union organizations without permanent officials and also that there are the corresponding management bodies (at oblast and kray levels), with which the union committees, exercising their protective functions, have to tackle many problems of social development and other questions.

For the purpose of simplifying the structure of the sectoral unions it is contemplated in republics with an oblast division abolishing, depending on specific conditions, either the republic or oblast union committees.

[Golovachev] So it is contemplated abolishing some union obkoms. Who, then, will coordinate the activity of the various primary organizations of a sectoral union within the confines of a region?

[Shalayev] Sectoral union committee chairmen councils may be formed (as nonstatutory bodies) for this. Without a permanent staff and machinery. In such cases the union committee chairmen forming the council will elect a council chairman from its composition.

Such a sectoral council could be endowed with certain rights in order that it be a representative, democratic and at the same time mobile body not overburdened with many procedural and bureaucratic conventionalities. This would make it possible to concentrate attention only on practical sectoral issues of union life. Proposals concerning the creation of union chairmen councils in place of the union obkoms have been submitted by a whole number of union central committees and are supported by many union councils also.

In other cases, coordination of union committee activity in a region could, at the discretion of the union central committee, be entrusted to a specially approved union central committee organizer. Development of the situation will possibly require other solutions also, but necessarily with regard for the opinion of the corresponding primary organization union committees.

[Golovachev] The plan for the new union structure is, as before, sector-oriented, but this, some TRUD readers believe, is an outdated approach, yesterday's approach. Under the conditions of the development of enterprise independence the ministry's role, they say, will gradually be reduced to nothing....

[Shalayev] New outlines of the administration of the sectors are being approved currently, and it is these new outlines and new functions which have been taken into consideration to a certain extent in the discussion of the ways to improve the structure of the unions also. It is for this reason that we are not hurrying, as already mentioned, the reorganization of the union structure and have awaited the appearance of the new structure of territorial-economic administration. And this applies, I emphasize, not only to the sectoral aspects but the territorial—republic, oblast—aspects also. I do not know what the fate of the sectors will be in the future, but they are there in the new national economic complex, much will depend on them (economic and social norms, state orders, capital investments, ST [as published] progress, personnel training and so forth), and we cannot overlook this and attempt to run who knows where.

Now concerning the broadening of enterprise independence. We took account of this when working on the new structure of the unions. The reduction in the multitier aspect is aimed at sparing the primary organization union committees undue tutelage. On the other hand, we have taken the path of according the union committees broad rights both in the expenditure of the resources at their disposal and on other issues.... This work is to continue.

[Golovachev] Stepan Alekseyevich, one further quite poignant and contentious question. The editorial mail contains letters which propose the abolition of the republic, kray, and oblast union councils. What do you have to say about this?

[Shalayev] The commission has carefully studied these and many other proposals. I have to mention that the proposals which have been received vary greatly and are sometimes of a contradictory nature. In this case also. Some propose abolition of the sectoral union central committees, others, on the other hand, the union councils. They justify this mainly by the fact that in practical work these bodies duplicate one another at times.

Of course, the remarks concerning duplication are warranted. Nonetheless, it has to be said that both proposals are in principle unacceptable, in our view. What would abolition of sectoral union bodies, say, mean? This would lead in practice to the elimination and "erosion" of the unions as such, whose viability has been confirmed by long practice worldwide. Mass social organizations deprived of vocational guidance would result which would prove incapable of really defending the interests of the workers of specific sectors.

No less important, as already said, is the activity of the interunion bodies.

But as far as duplication and parallelism are concerned, it is essential to exclude these by way of the more precise demarcation of functions and also by making the corresponding changes to the internal structure of the machinery of the union central committee and councils. We attempted to do this at the AUCCTU December (1987) Plenum.

It is intended concentrating the Central Committees' main attention predominantly on the work of the union organizations under the conditions of the introduction of the new methods of management, economic accountability and self-financing, and an improvement in the planning of economic and social development. The development of sectoral economic competition, application of progressive experience and acceleration of ST progress pertain here. The list of questions includes also an improvement in the organization of labor and wages and material and moral incentives, the creation of healthy and safe working conditions, and an improvement in shop-floor facilities and collective bargaining.

[Golovachev] What in this case is left the union councils?

[Shalayev] Aside from problems of an intersectoral nature, they must step up their attention to the work of the union organizations associated primarily with the development of the social sphere: an acceleration of a solution to the housing problem, an expansion of production and a rise in the quality of consumer goods and services and the organization of subsidiary rural plots and group horticulture and truck gardening. Questions

of an improvement in consumer conditions and medical services for the working people, social insurance and supervision of compliance with labor and housing legislation must also be within the sphere of their constant attention. Add to this the organization of educational work, spreading culture among the masses and physical culture and sports activity, children's recreation and an improvement in personnel and financial work, and there is quite a bit to do, is there not?

[Golovachev] I would like to return to the debate which was held at the meeting of the commission. In our time of glasnost and openness it is very important to show the differing opinions and adduce the arguments "for" and "against" which were expressed in the course of the discussion. One speaker, for example, spoke of the need for the consolidation of the sectoral unions. The formation instead of 31 of, for example, 6—in the fuel and power complex, machine building and so forth.

[Shalayev] There were such or similar proposals before also, and the commission studied them. It was suggested, in particular, uniting the unions per the sectors' membership of this national economic complex or the other, uniting the three machine-building sector unions, the oil and gas industry unions, the chemical and petrochemical industry unions and also others.

Currently the 31 sectoral unions already unite the working people of more than 100 union and union-republic ministries and departments and very many republic ministries and departments.

If we switch to a two-tier system, which, in our opinion, is the most expedient, enabling us to avoid a multitier condition, the unification or consolidation of the unions would lead to the union central committee directly encompassing from 3,000 to 12,000 union organizations. This would make leadership of them impossible and would, consequently, once again entail the need for a multitier structure, that is, the creation in all oblasts of the corresponding union obkoms, which would require appreciable additional staff. And, besides, in this case they would not have a "par" management body, with which, exercising their union functions, economic and social issues should be tackled. Under the terms of the State Enterprise Act enterprise management could refuse altogether to study such questions with the union obkom, having in mind the need to discuss them primarily in the workforce with the participation of the union committee and the technical supervisory service.

As far as the proposal for the unification in a single union of, say, miners and oil workers or medical personnel, teachers and people working in trade and culture is concerned, it is difficult to take this at all seriously. Their specifics and work conditions are so different that it is impossible to imagine them even in a single union.

[Golovachev] Unions were consolidated in the past. What did this experience show?

[Shalayev] To take a trip into the past, it shows that the number of sectoral unions after the revolution at first grew (19 in 1918, 30 in 1919, 154 in 1934, 192 in 1941), but after the war began to decline (139 in 1945, 66 in 1949, 47 in 1956). The decision to unite a number of unions was made in 1957. There came to be 23 in place of 47. But this experience showed that the unions were unable to perform their assignments in full. They were comminuted in 1977, and 31 unions were formed.

[Golovachev] The editorial mailbag contains many questions concerning the fate of union raykoms and gorkoms....

[Shalayev] Some unions of the nonproduction sectors consider it possible to abolish many of their raykoms and gorkoms. This will on the one hand permit them to simplify their structure and clear away the intermediate tier and, on the other, will afford an opportunity for using the staff to strengthen the primary organizations.

The continuation of this work is contemplated.

[Golovachev] Many people are proposing in place of the sectoral union raykoms the creation of other union bodies at the rayon tier level. It is a question of inter-union bodies—rayon union councils...

[Shalayev] Yes, a number of union councils have put forward such proposals. But there are also serious objections to this, on the part of the sectoral union authorities, who believe that would "erode" the unions' sectoral nature, included. In the past rayon and city union councils have been formed on four occasions and soon after abolished for various reasons. And because also, with a minimum staff, they were in practice unable to assist the primary organizations in the solution of diverse sectoral questions.

A preliminary study shows that such proposals require more thorough efforts.

With regard for the comprehensive discussion of this question in the commission it is contemplated creating by way of experiment rayon and city union councils in two-three regions in order to draw final conclusions on the basis of their work experience.

In all other regions the intention is to create coordinating councils from the ranks of union raykom and gorkom chairmen and individual union committee chairmen. Such experience is at hand, and it is commending itself.

[Golovachev] Simultaneously with an improvement in the structure of the unions a reduction in the machinery of the union authorities and the organizations under their jurisdiction is planned. What will be the size of this reduction?

[Shalayev] I would like to report first of all the fundamentally important agreement in the commission on no cuts in the total numbers of primary organization union committee officials. Since today only one out of every 10 primary organizations has a full-time union committee chairman.

On the other hand, as already mentioned, it is intended dispatching the personnel of the raykoms and gorkoms to be abolished in order to strengthen the primary union organizations. In addition, the primary component may also be reinforced thanks to a reduction in the strength of the machinery of the higher union bodies—from the oblast level up.

It is contemplated reducing the machinery of the union authorities—from the oblast level through the AUCCTU (with regard for the recent cutback)—more than 30 percent. If these proposals of the commission are adopted, the permanent staff of union bodies of the top and middle tier will be reduced by more than 10,000.

The machinery will be cut back in all organizations under the jurisdiction of the unions also.

[Golovachev] TRUD readers and also certain members of the commission have emphasized that certain structures of the sectoral union are the prerogative of its central committee. How is it possible, they say, to "dictate" to the union—abolish the obkom, wind up the raykom.... And what if there are sorely needed many enterprises of a given sector in the oblast and an obkom?

[Shalayev] I have already answered this question and repeat once again: we are determining the overall structure of the USSR's unions and the principles of its improvement. This is the statutory right of the AUCCTU. But each union central committee will adopt specific decisions pertaining to this sectoral union or the other with regard for its specific features independently.

The unions' structure must be flexible, it cannot be made according to one pattern, one plate. After all, aviation industry, say, has one set of specifics, local industry, another. But all—and this is perfectly natural—need to adhere to jointly formulated common principles.

I will discuss one further point. Under the new conditions the union councils and committees will evidently need to make fuller use of the right accorded them of themselves determining the list of staff and the inner structure of the machinery. This is in keeping with the demands of the times.

[Golovachev] Concern was heard in some speeches in the commission about the fact that if we abolish the union obkoms, this will be tantamount to the elimination of the sectoral union.

[Shalayev] Why so? After all, the primary organizations are the basis of the union. Is anybody eliminating them? Or weakening them? On the contrary, we are strengthening them. And the union central committees will remain also. And the possible abolition of this obkom or the other by no means signifies the elimination of the sectoral union. Incidentally, it is not in all oblasts today that sectoral unions have obkoms. But the elimination of the multitier aspect is an urgent problem, and the structure will be improved in the interests primarily of the primary organizations and a broadening of their independence. It is this which is being requested of us so insistently by the primary organizations themselves and the union activists.

[Golovachev] A reduction in the machinery is usually associated with the dismissal of personnel. And this is always a tricky process. Where will the 10,000-plus persons who will be cut go?

[Shalayev] There should be no doubts on this score: concern will be displayed for each worker. All will be found employment. Some will possibly return to their outfit, from where they were promoted to the union body, some may be used in their special field (economists, lawyers, doctors, lecturers...), in a word, no one will be left without attention and our concern.

In conclusion I stress once again: the measures to improve the structure of the unions and cut back the machinery of the union authorities are being elaborated on a broad democratic basis. We are consulting union activists and the union central committees and councils. And the commission itself represents all components of the union authorities, beginning with the union organizer. The main purpose of the work being done is an improvement in the structure in the name of a fundamental improvement in the activity of all union bodies and union organizations in the name of the restructuring under way in the country and in the unions themselves. Defending the working people's interests more firmly and decisively and developing initiative and self-management in every possible way—such are our urgent tasks.

Komsomol Secretary Interviewed on Resignation
AU2706121888 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH
in Bulgarian 23 Jun 88 p 2

[Interview with Yuriy Polyakov, secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers RSFSR: "Confession Without Humility," "conducted by Ivanka Germanova from Sofia"; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Germanova] Can we assume that your withdrawal from Komsomol work should not only be attributed to the need to devote yourself entirely to literature, but also to a certain feeling of dissatisfaction?

[Polyakov] Such questions have been asked before. They result from the habit of considering official Komsomol work as a springboard for a future career. That is why many people today do not understand someone who voluntarily withdraws from this work. As far as I am concerned, the work as raykom instructor was a rather interesting period of my life, and a very useful occupation for me as an author devoting himself to youth problems. The fact that I have withdrawn from official Komsomol work by no means means that I have retired from the Komsomol. At the 20th Komsomol Congress I was elected candidate member of the Komsomol Central Committee. As to a feeling of dissatisfaction, this is something that rather applies to those who have no occupation at all.

[Germanova] The Soviet mass media point out the great response of young people to the new phenomena. Do you not think that in the restructuring process the Komsomol is lagging behind youth as a whole?

[Polyakov] In my opinion the Komsomol cannot be called a vanguard of restructuring today. It stagnated for too long in a state of show-off complacency, in order to be able to catch up with everything it missed within a short period of 1 or 2 years. In addition to this, numerous groups, informal associations, with different programs of action have recently appeared. We need time to understand them and to engage in cooperation with some of them. I think that it is better for the Komsomol to be somewhat lagging behind the development of youth instead of acting too hastily with initiatives "ordered from above."

[Germanova] As a writer and secretary of the RSFSR Board of the Union of Writers, how are you, personally contributing to overcoming the lack of civic responsibility?

[Polyakov] I think that this does not apply to the majority of the young people, who are much more conscious of their civic responsibility than was the case 10 or 20 years ago. [passage omitted] Unfortunately, for a long time, we did not distinguish between real civic responsibility and false emotion and, as a result of this complacency, books were published that are still collecting dust on the shelves of our bookshops. Only glasnost in publishing can rescue us from such literary products. [passage omitted]

[Germanova] How would you describe the strength of Komsomol members of the new generation? Can we say that today's young people are more politically minded? Generally speaking, can you tell us—to what extent the young generation of the late eighties has progressed further than and in what respect it has fallen behind its predecessors?

[Polyakov] I am deeply impressed by the tremendous faith of young people of the past generations in true, and sometimes even false, ideals and by their intolerance

toward any deviation from these ideals. However, these virtues of our predecessors also included their weaknesses. In the first 5-year plan periods the Komsomol amazed us with its labor exploits, but it also played a considerable role in the campaigns against kulaks. The Komsomol members conquered the Arctic, but at the same time, participated in the campaigns of "unmasking" the "people's enemies." We should neither idealize, nor fully reject the experience of our predecessors. Regardless of the circumstances, they preserved their loyalty to the Leninist principles of revolutionary innovation of society, and these ideals are still topical.

As a matter of fact, I think that all comparisons in this respect are rather academic. Every generation is political to the extent it is allowed to be. Our predecessors of the twenties and thirties were more active in the struggle for the political unity of the Komsomol. It is not in the spirit of our time to talk about merits, but I am confident that the present young generation is not only more educated. The range of the young people's political and social views, interests, and enthusiasms is incomparably wider than that of the previous generations. [passage omitted]

Lukyanov Addresses Social Sciences Graduates
PM2806073188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Replacements in the Vanguard of Restructuring"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the latest graduating class of students and postgraduates was held 25 June at a leading party educational establishment—the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

The meeting was addressed by A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who conveyed to the graduates and the entire collective at the academy cordial congratulations from the party Central Committee and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

This year's graduation, A.I. Lukyanov went on to say, is taking place at a very responsible and significant time—the eve of the opening of the 19th all-union party conference, a major political event in the life of our party and country.

The conference will examine questions that are, without exaggeration, of key importance for the fate of restructuring. It is a question of working out radical measures to give a powerful fillip to the further deepening of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and make this process irreversible.

Party organizations and labor collectives are completing broad, nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the conference. Communists and non-party people have already submitted more than 1.5 million proposals reflecting our people's deep interest in

enhancing the party's vanguard role, radically changing the activities of soviets at all levels, overcoming bureaucratism and administrative-edict management methods, ensuring the democratization of social life, and expanding glasnost.

The novelty and scale of the revolutionary transformations of society have placed our entire party and all our cadres in a new situation. This situation is thoroughly testing the practical experience we have amassed, our theoretical knowledge, and our ability to actually combine theory with the practice of restructuring. In order to pass this test, we must rise to a qualitatively new level of thinking and working in all spheres of society's life. Naturally, this will not come about without a struggle. A revolutionary struggle between the old and the new is under way. It can be seen in the overcoming of conservatism, bureaucratism, and dogmatism, both in theory and in practice. Here, too, we can see that many people still hold old positions. Many people have taken fright at the scale of democratization. Leftist posturing and a desire to volubly run ahead of restructuring have emerged.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee wished the academy graduates success in actively utilizing their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory as an effective weapon in the new analysis of issues linked with the goals and values of socialism and ways of attaining them.

The implementation of these goals is inseparable from the development of democracy and glasnost, the people's self-management, the radical economic reform, and creation of the conditions needed for ensuring the revelation in every possible way of working people's creative potential and the free and all-around development of the individual.

The changes that have taken place over the past 3 years in democratization and the development of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism are hard to overestimate. However, we are only in the initial stages of the resolution of tasks of immense importance and complexity aimed at really involving the broad masses of working people in the running of all state and social affairs.

The people's power is the first principle which defines and will continue to define the development of socialist statehood in the course of the projected reform of Soviet society's political system. It must be stripped of everything linked with the consequences of the personality cult, administrative-edict, authoritarian, and bureaucratic management methods, the alienation of working people from power, and deviations from the Leninist norms of party and state life.

It is natural that in the light of these transformations the role of the CPSU as the leading and organizing force in Soviet society is being seen in a new way. Basing itself on Marxist-Leninist teaching, the party is called upon to develop the theory and strategy of social development, to

formulate the ideology of socialist renewal, and to conduct political and organizational work among the masses. This clear-cut formula contained in the CPSU Central Committee Theses means that we must strictly adhere to the Leninist principles of delineating the functions of party, state, and economic organs.

It is necessary to completely exclude from party documents and from the daily practice of party committees any attempts to issue direct instructions to management organs or soviet and social organizations with regard to what they are to do and where and how they are to do it; party policy is to be pursued, first and foremost, through the Communists working in these organs and organizations. This can only be achieved by stepping up organizational, mass political, and ideological work. It is with this kind of approach that the true authority of party workers is created.

If one thinks about it, restructuring demands very much more from party workers than just knowledge, qualifications, and professional skills.

It is now more important than ever to have a keen sense of the new, political flair, and the ability to discern the old and obsolete in whatever new garb it may be attired.

It is now more necessary than ever to have the closest contacts with the masses, to know their sentiments inside out, and to strive to heed people and work with people.

It is now particularly necessary to have the most meticulous understanding of the economic and legal mechanisms for running society's life—self-regulating rather than edict-issuing mechanisms.

Finally, it is now exceptionally important to be able to find the keys to delineating party and state functions and to lead in a political fashion, pooling the efforts of people and mass organizations rather than supplanting them.

The renewal of the party's cadre policy, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee went on to say, makes immeasurably higher demands on the party political education of leading cadres. The Central Committee has drawn up and is implementing a new concept for the training and retraining of party, soviet, and ideological cadres. It is a question of creating the conditions and forms for educating ideologically convinced leaders with a high level of political skill and genuine innovators profoundly aware of the need for qualitative changes in Soviet society—who are able to break with inertia and routine and creatively implement the line of renewing life.

Addressing the collective of lecturers at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, A.I. Lukyanov pointed to the need to raise cadre training to a qualitatively new level and make the instruction of students and postgraduates more meaningful and better informed.

The party's theoretical thinking and practical actions are currently focused on a range of problems of unprecedented complexity, and when a mass reevaluation of values takes place, it is no longer possible to study many topics from old standpoints. The need for a problem-centered study of the ways of realizing the emerging contradictions and methods of accelerating the transition to intensive types of reproduction and shaping the new thinking is growing more than ever.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee warmly congratulated the academy graduates from the socialist countries and wished them success in utilizing their knowledge in practical work in the interests of developing the socialist community and strengthening the combat solidarity and cohesion of the fraternal parties and peoples.

Each one of you, Academy Rector R.G. Yanovskiy said, addressing the graduates, has many days of intensive creative labor and painstaking work behind you. You have substantially enriched your knowledge in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist theory, the CPSU's domestic and foreign policy, and party leadership of various spheres of socialist society. But the main thing is that your creative political thinking has been developed. And the results of your studies will not be slow to affect the practical work and specific affairs awaiting you locally. It is important to be able to effectively utilize your knowledge in everyday life, improving the style, forms, and methods of your work. We are channeled in this direction by the party's main directive—to bring about a breakthrough in people's hearts and minds and to focus their attention on the most important area—the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic and spiritual development on the basis of scientific and technical progress, the deepening of democracy, and the implementation of widespread glasnost. The speaker gave an assurance that the academy's collective will make every effort and devote all its knowledge and experience to improving the training and education of highly qualified party, soviet, and ideological cadres and to shaping a combative vanguard of active proponents of restructuring.

The success and pace of restructuring, postgraduate A.I. Shakhsinova stressed, will largely depend on the extent to which we—the party reserve—rapidly and deeply comprehend it and how far we purposefully implement it and resolve specific tasks in our own republics, oblasts, and rayons. I would hope that the academy will not forget us but will support and help us at difficult times.

E. Durkovic (CSSR) spoke on behalf of the foreign students and postgraduates. We are proud to have been in Moscow at an unforgettable time, he stated, a time of historic transformations in Soviet society—transformations that are playing an important role in the destiny of the entire world. We have learned a great deal here; we have been able to see for ourselves that we have the same concerns, and we have felt the strength of the friendship that unites the peoples of the socialist countries.

V.F. Khalipov, leader of the Scientific Communism Faculty, wished the graduates a good and happy life.

CPSU's Baklanov Criticizes Siberians' Work
PM2206084188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Jun 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Reserves of the Regions—the Potential of Restructuring"]

[Text] The nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference has created a special social mood in the country. The principles and exactness of the assessments of what has been achieved and the desire of millions of people to increase their personal contribution to the renewal of all spheres of our life have concentrated their actions and thoughts on one main area: the quest for and assimilation of those reserves whose exploitation will make it possible to deepen and advance restructuring.

The effectiveness of this work was discussed at meetings between O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was in Chita and Irkutsk Oblasts 12-16 June, and workers from a number of East Siberia's leading enterprises and construction sites. Notwithstanding the diversity of the questions under examination, the conversations highlighted the main thing: Siberians' desire to remove everything impeding faster progress and their desire to effect a resolute breakthrough in the struggle to speed up socioeconomic development.

The region possesses everything necessary for this: energetic, enterprising people, unique natural resources, a powerful industrial base, and considerable intellectual potential. However, restructuring has still not attained a stable pace here and is sometimes uneven. Many individual Siberians and labor collectives did not hide their concern over this in frank conversations with the CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Democratization and glasnost are teaching Soviet people to look at phenomena and trends from the positions of masters of the country, responsible for its present and future. With regard to the progress of the discussion of the Central Committee Theses, the proposals voiced are channeled toward more complete and comprehensive use of the region's resources.

The key to this lies in a sharp buildup in rates of construction. Construction is held back in Chita Oblast by the shortage of construction materials—above all, cement. The commissioning of the Ust-Borzya Cement Plant planned for the end of the next 5-year plan naturally has long postponed resolution of the problem.

Examination of the problem at the local level with the participation of all interested departments has made it possible to bring forward in 3 years the construction of a

facility of vital importance for the oblast. In conversations at enterprises and with the party aktiv, O.D. Baklanov noted the need for an accelerated buildup in output production and the need to cater for people's every need.

The economic potential of Irkutsk Oblast is growing rapidly. However, this growth could be much more effective if it was accompanied by more purposeful efforts to develop the social sphere. This was confirmed by numerous frank conversations held by the CPSU Central Committee secretary at enterprises, trading centers, children's establishments, and residential districts.

A strong social policy is an inalienable part of restructuring. Discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses, the oblast's workers consider its implementation to be a necessary condition for increasing the contribution to nationwide creative work.

At present the shortage of schools and kindergartens is having an acute impact on such cities as Sayansk, Angarsk, and Usolye-Sibirskoye. The rate of housing construction is inadequate, the services sphere, medicine, and urban transport are slow to develop, and a number of types of foodstuffs and commodities are in short supply.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed in conversations with the representatives of labor collectives that inertia of thinking must be resolutely overcome to resolve these urgent problems. The democratization of economic management and radical economic reform are creating every opportunity for bold maneuvers, initiative, and the use of personal experience. The creation of this sort of mood is a primary task.

In conversations with oblast leaders, the CPSU Central Committee secretary focused attention on ways of resolving these problems. The own-resources method must be more widely used in housing construction and individual and cooperative methods of housing construction developed on a larger scale.

Industrial enterprises' subsidiary works must be developed much more vigorously, as is being done, for instance, at Usolye's "Khimprom" Production Association, in order to more rapidly resolve such an acute problem as providing the oblast with the food products which are now in short supply. All enterprises which the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited have studied the opportunities for increasing manufacture of consumer goods, which are in especially great demand.

The reserves for this do exist. It is only necessary to be self-critical in examining the use of capacities. For even at the Irkutsk Aircraft Plant, capacities are by no means being used to the full. We must not let such substantial reserves go unused, producing no return.

The oblast has an important role to play in the implementation of the economic chemicalization program. However, the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out, the considerable potential created here is still not giving the return which the country is entitled to expect. An unjustifiably long time is being taken at Sayansk's "Khimprom" Production Association to assimilate capacities, based on imported equipment, for manufacturing PVC resin—of which there is an acute shortage. Questions of automation and the use of computers in management processes are slow to be resolved here and production standards are low.

The results of the association's work directly affect all aspects of the young city's life. A direct, comradely discussion was held on this subject at a meeting of the city's party and economic aktiv, where O.D. Baklanov made a speech. He said that it is especially important to display professionalism and socialist enterprise and to make use of all available reserves in conditions of radical economic reform. Freefloating and reliance on constant help from the "center" are incompatible with the practice and spirit of restructuring.

Talking with the leadership and specialists of Usolye's "Khimprom" Production Association, the CPSU Central Committee secretary criticized the work done on renewing outmoded production capital. At the same time new plants, which the country needs, are being constructed here intolerably slowly.

Even at such a major enterprise in the sector as the "Angarsknefteorgsintez" Production Association, problems in the reconstruction and retooling of existing production units whose equipment has become morally and physically outmoded are being poorly resolved. This leads to serious ecological violations.

In conversations with production workers, team leaders, and foremen from all the oblast's enterprises, the CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired in detail as to how real economic accountability [khozaschet] reaches work positions. For it is there that the effect of the radical economic reform, which determines the success of restructuring, must be displayed in full. Everywhere he visited he talked with people about the essence of the Theses as applied to local conditions and tasks.

A meeting was held 16 June at the Irkutsk CPSU Obkom between the Central Committee secretary and the oblast's party aktiv. He noted in his speech that the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference have entered a decisive stage.

The theses provide a frank assessment of the first results of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th party congress. Along with the positive results, we must pay attention to the difficulties and complexities in implementing economic reform, developing internal party democracy, and renewing all aspects of the life of our society. The very fact that this document was publicized

and broadly discussed attests that the party is consistently carrying out a course of democratization and glasnost. The people are involved in all the vitally important transformations in the country.

It is said with complete forthrightness: "The party will build its policy, clearly guided by the humane principles and aims of socialism, and will secure its implementation by humane, democratic means." The Theses thoroughly expound the important questions of a strong social policy, the state and development of scientific and technical progress, socialist self-management for the people, the improvement of internal party life, the broadening of the role and powers of the Soviets, and the improvement of the electoral system and foreign policy activity.

A large number of letters from Communists and non-party members come to the Central Committee. They express support for the course being implemented by the party, but they also voice concern for the fate of restructuring and its inadequate pace and success rate. Many proposals aimed at intensifying the changes under way have been submitted. These proposals, including those from people in your area, will be generalized and used in the conference materials, O.D. Baklanov said.

Nonetheless, in the 3 years that have elapsed since the April Plenum, a great deal has been done to pull the economy out of its precrisis state. As a result of the efforts made it has been possible to overcome the development of negative trends.

On average in the 2 years of the current 5-year plan production growth in industry has been 1.2 times the rate in the 11th 5-Year Plan. Agriculture is developing more stably and there have been improvements in labor productivity. The attitude to the resolution of social problems and the improvement of the people's living conditions has substantially changed.

At the same time, the rates and scale of the changes are clearly inadequate. The course of the fulfillment of the economic chemicalization program adopted by the Central Committee and the government, that is designed to provide for the country's most pressing requirements in chemical output, is a concrete example of this. During the 2 years of the current 5-year plan the shortfall in assimilating the capital investments earmarked in Irkutsk Oblast has totaled more than R100 million. Greater efforts are required to repair the omission.

Then the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that the oblast is presently resolving a whole series of vitally important questions unsatisfactorily. This, above all, applies to the saturation of the market with paid services and goods in mass demand and to the resolution of the housing problem.

Irkutsk Oblast receives state subsidies for a number of basic food products. These subsidies are not being reduced. The prevailing situation requires serious analysis, and effective ways must be determined to build up resources from own production.

The new conditions of economic activity, democracy, and glasnost, the CPSU Central Committee secretary went on, have wrought drastic changes in our life and have set party members new tasks. Restructuring has confidently switched to the practice of real life and has highlighted the special role of the party apparatus and its high political responsibility for its fate.

M.S. Gorbachev has said on more than one occasion that the party must lead, constantly analyze the processes taking place, and be able to answer questions posed by the time and by people. Today the party worker's main task is to confirm restructuring every day by his personal example and actively support those who show initiative and who keep pace with the times.

Now the concept of restructuring is seen identically in all languages as the symbol of drastic changes in the life of Soviet society. The new political thinking engendered by it, the CPSU Central Committee secretary then said, has created the preconditions for the democratization of the USSR's international ties. Our foreign policy concept is the concept of a nuclear-free and, ultimately, demilitarized world.

The significance of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed some time ago and recently ratified, is tremendous. The Soviet-U.S. Moscow summit was an event of great importance. Like peoples throughout the world Soviet people, who are implementing a program of renewing their society, have a need for lasting peace.

We need, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said in conclusion, to activate all potential, capital, and reserves at the country's disposal to effect the planned transformations.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied on his tours of Chita and Irkutsk Oblasts by N.I. Malkov and V.I. Potapov, the party obkom first secretaries; K.K. Shabarshin, chairman of the Chita Oblispolkom; and L.A. Platonov, first deputy chairman of Irkutsk Oblispolkom.

The following took part in the tours: V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.G. Afonin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Chemical Industry Department; USSR ministers; senior CPSU Central Committee, USSR Gosplan, and USSR Gosstrib personnel; and leading specialists from a number of industries.

Rally Held for Lithuanian Restructuring Group

LD3006104088 Vilnius in Lithuanian
to North America 0000 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Report from Gediminas Square in Vilnius by Vilnius radio correspondent Roma Pakeniene on the 24 June departure ceremony organized by the "initiative group" of the "Lithuanian Restructuring Movement" for delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Pakeniene] I have not seen anything like this for a long time. A large crowd of people came voluntarily to Gediminas Square on Friday. What is more, there was no announcement on the radio or television or in newspapers that such a rally was going to take place, except, of course, for our programs. The Restructuring Movement used their own means of information: posters, telephone, and written notes, which one could see being carried in the streets of Vilnius the day before the rally.

According to ELTA, the Lithuanian telegram agency, 10,000 people took part in the rally, although I believe the number must be much higher.

Unusual colors were flying above the crowd: Yellow, green, and red [the colors of independent Lithuania]. There also were green flags with the inscriptions: The Movement; as well as smaller flags with the Gediminas Towers [14th-15th century coat-of-arms of the Jogaila nad Gediminas dynasty, later used during the period of independent Lithuania] printed on them. Young men wearing green ribbons with the Gediminas Towers painted on them ensured that order was maintained.

As is usual with any rally, many placards could be seen. These read: Restructuring movement for all Lithuania!; We are for the movement!; We support Gorbachev; Delegates! Represent Lithuania!; All power to the soviets!; Sovereignty for Lithuania!; Molotov equals Ribbentrop; and many others. Portraits of Mikhail Gorbachev were also held by the rally participants.

At 1900, the entire initiative group of the Restructuring Movement, together with six out of the eight elected delegates from the city of Vilnius appeared on the rostrum. The rally organizers pointed out that the participants in the rally would have to give their support to the delegates and voice their mandates to them. Listen to what Professor Vytautas Landsbergis, a musicologist, said to open the rally:

[Landsbergis] We have gathered here on a very important day to discuss a very important issue. We are bidding farewell to our delegates. We are well aware of the problems caused by the too-slow process of restructuring in Lithuania. We have some delegates here—unfortunately, they are not all present here today—and the question today is: Who do they represent? What sort of elections were those we held? I believe that the republic administration has become aware now of a

certain mistake they have made, therefore, they now must be ashamed of having done it, and perhaps this is a guarantee that these incorrect elections will be the last such elections in Lithuania. We know—at least, we did not hear anything to contradict this—that most of the appointed delegates did not declare when elected: This is not right! I don't want it! We must not condemn them for this. The habit of long years and, no doubt, the discipline of party obedience made the decision for them. These had greater weight than any self-respect.

Trying not to hurt people who have found themselves in such a situation, we nevertheless declare that they are not delegates from us, who have gathered here, and neither are they from those who support us. However, they can become our delegates, although maybe not all of them. More important, however, is this: If the delegates return from Moscow having adopted, together with others, good decisions for our people and for Lithuania, then we will say: those were our delegates! If unsatisfactory decisions were adopted in Moscow but the Lithuanian delegates voted against them or abandoned voting altogether, then we will say: Those were our delegates! However, if the decisions adopted there are unsatisfactory for the people and for Lithuania, then we will say: Those were not our delegates!

The Restructuring Movement does not come into confrontation with the republic's administration, but we want more clarity on many issues.

[Pakeniene] After that, V. Landsbergis presented the Restructuring Movement's main proposals to the 19th party conference. Proposals that the economic, political, and cultural sovereignty of union republics be reinstated; that the republic's self-government in all spheres of life be ensured; that Lithuanian be declared the republic's state language; and that Lithuanian citizenship be restored; among others, were supported by all participants.

Prof V. Landsbergis proposed that some unclear entries in the Lithuanian delegation's platform should be replaced with clearly worded and concrete ones. Let us take the proposal that the USSR Supreme Soviet of Nationalities should solve nationality relations problems directly. This would look very different if reworded: the Soviet of Nationalities ensures the safety of nationality relations and interests.

The speakers found the problem of Ignalina nuclear power station very acute. The rally participants voted against the construction of the third power unit.

Kazimiera Prunskine, doctor of economic sciences, expressed her concern about the threat to restructuring from the entire administrative and bureaucratic apparatus. According to her point of view a democratic system should be won for any kind of elections.

Vytautas Petkevicius, a writer, raised the second most important issue after that of language: the ecology problem. Vytautas Petkevicius said that our conference delegates should demand that no industrial installation be expanded without the consent of the republican administration, and of our nation and the general public because we are the masters of our environment and economy. [passage omitted]

Apart from other important issues, people also wanted to know if the present anthem of Soviet Lithuania would be replaced by the national song composed by Vincas Kudirka [a poet of the 19th century national liberation movement; the song was the anthem of independent Lithuania], and if the present flag and coat-of-arms would be reconsidered. According to the point of view of the initiative group members, these issues not only could be solved, but must be solved, especially the anthem issue. By the way, the national song by Vincas Kudirka was sung at the end of the rally to the accompaniment of a phonograph. The conference delegates did not answer these questions. [passage omitted]

The rally lasted for more than 2 hours. When it finished, people stayed on the square. Some were making donations to the Restructuring Movement support fund; others sang folk songs, and there also were people who simply were lingering. I struck up conversations with some of them.

[Grizibauskas] My name is Leonas Grizibauskas.

[Pakeniene] And your profession?

[Grizibauskas] I am an engineer. I came here, I suppose, like everyone else, to breathe a sigh of relief, to take in more air, to get the general impression. All the thoughts voiced here today were hidden somewhere deep in my heart of hearts. Here my heart resounded in singing.

[Montviliene] Irena Montviliene, from the republican library. I work at the Institute of Refresher Courses for Cultural Workers. We were brought here by the call of our hearts. I remember after so many years...I remember we came to Vilnius in 1945. At that time, we still sang the old anthem, we could go out into the streets. We have been really clutched and suppressed for so many years, but in our hearts we carried that feeling of Lithuanian nationhood.

[Unidentified woman] We saw all the wrongdoings, all the horrors; we saw deportations. We heard a lot and suffered a lot. It was sad and moving. Everything today was organized so wonderfully, and our people, the elite, our best people spoke so bravely today. Well, words fail to describe it all.

[Pakeniene] Do you feel relieved?

[Woman] Oh, yes, of course!

Latvian Party Plenum Condemns Extremist Elements
PM2906133788 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA
in Russian 19 Jun 88 p 1

[LATINFORM report: "Information Report on Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee was held in Riga 18 June 1988.

B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report on the political situation in the republic.

Taking part in the discussion on this question were Ya.Ya. Leya, chairman of the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting; A.P. Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga party gorkom; S.V. Zukul, chairman of the Latvian SSR KGB; A.A. Drizul, vice president of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences; V.V. Ozolinsh, first secretary of Riga's Moskovskiy party raykom; B.Yu. Oshs, Latvian SSR minister of the wood processing and paper industry; V.S. Terekhov, first secretary of Riga's Oktyabrskiy party raykom; Latvian SSR People's Writer R. Ezera; Riga Gorispolkom Chairman A.P. Rubiks; SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH editor A.S. Blinov; Latvian SSR Prosecutor Ya.E. Dzenitis; V.E. Liyegis, turner-borer at the "Kommutator" Production Association's "Liyepaymash" Plant; A.E. Kauls, chairman of Rizhskiy Rayon's "Adazhi" Agrofirma; A.V. Gorbunov, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; and K.I. Nyuksha, tool maker at the "Rizhskiy Elektromashinostroitel'nyy Zavod" Production Association.

In a principled and party fashion they analyzed the situation in the republic and the letters and resolutions sent by labor collectives to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and condemned the attempts by elements with extremist inclinations that are taking advantage of democratization and glasnost to discredit restructuring and undermine the peoples' friendship. The plenum participants backed the efforts made by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau to consolidate the forces of working people and the republic's entire population, and submitted effective proposals for the acceleration of socioeconomic development and the improvement of ideological and political education.

The plenum unanimously adopted a resolution on the question under discussion, which will be published in the press.

Estonian Commission Planning 'Democratization'
PM2906154988 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA
in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 1

[ETA Report: "At the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A meeting of the commission for the formulation of legislative measures connected with the further democratization of social life was held at the Estonian

SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium 13 June under the chairmanship of Presidium Chairman A. Ryuytel. Problems and proposals submitted to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium by collectives, organizations, establishments, creative unions, and individual citizens had been discussed beforehand at meetings in all seven of the commission's working groups.

Thus, for example, the working group on questions of the status of the Estonian language submitted a proposal that the status of the Estonian language as a state language must be recorded in the Estonian SSR Constitution. A corresponding draft is being formulated.

The commission also decided unanimously to ask the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to examine the proposal submitted by the working group on questions of citizenship and state symbolism to recognize the historically evolved traditional combination of dark blue, black, and white as the national colors and the cornflower and the swallow as national symbols. Proceeding from this, the necessary changes are to be made to legislation.

Various opinions were expressed on the Estonian SSR's anthem. Considered proposals are awaited from the Composers Union and the Writers Union.

The principles of relations between the USSR as a union state and the union republics were examined. It was deemed necessary to extend the rights of republic and local organs of power simultaneously with the establishment of real guarantees of their implementation.

The commission also put forward a number of ideas which should be taken into account when formulating drafts of the new laws on elections.

The working group on questions of citizens' independent social activity submitted a proposal on the adoption of a republic legal act which would define the procedure for the legalization of associations, societies, unions, and other organizations and mass movements being set up on the initiative of citizens, as well as legal guarantees of their activity.

The working group to check the legality of citizens' evictions in 1941 and 1949 reported on the normative acts on whose basis the mass special deportation of people from our republic was carried out and submitted a proposal to have them annulled as illegal by the organs which adopted them.

The working group on questions of glasnost in the activity of organs of state power and management systematized the problems and proposals connected with the provision of objective information to the public and submitted in letters and statements addressed to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Areas of further activity were defined for the working group, in

which the central place will be occupied by the creation of a press service under organs of state power and management, as well as the removal of various restrictions.

The work of the commission for the formulation of legislative measures connected with the further democratization of life in the Estonian SSR is continuing.

Estonian Popular Front's Savisaar Interviewed
PM2806153088 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
26-27 Jun 88 p 11

[Interview with Estonian Popular Front leader Edgar Savisaar by Ezio Mauro; date and place not given]

[Text] Tallin—"Are they afraid of us? If so, it means they are afraid of the people, because we are the people." Edgar Savisaar, doctor of philosophy, has for the past month found himself on the most difficult front in the USSR—on the thin line that divides pluralism from the religion of the single-party system, regional autonomy from nationalism, mobilization in support of restructuring from political heresy. Leader and founder of the Popular Front, he brought 150,000 people into the streets in Tallin, requested and obtained a change in the local party leadership, and dictated Estonia's line for the party conference. Tallin's example is contagious and threatens to set the Baltic on fire: The New Popular Front has already been formed in Lithuania, and yesterday 10,000 people gathered in Vilnius to demand a new boost to the republic's autonomy, in the name of restructuring.

[Mauro] Dr Savisaar, why did the first mass movement in support of Gorbachev originate in the Baltic?

[Savisaar] The answer must be sought in our history. We Estonians have experience of democracy behind us. During the years of stagnation under Brezhnev, things here were much worse than elsewhere.

[Mauro] Is the Front's real aim a victory for restructuring in Moscow or the conquest of autonomy in Tallin?

[Savisaar] The two are very closely linked. We want restructuring to become irreversible: We know that only thus will new scope for autonomy open up for us. The front's prime aim is another, however: to give the soviets all the power they should have by law, by persuading the party to grant parliament some leeway.

[Mauro] Meanwhile, the Estonian party has replaced its first secretary, who was considered a conservative. Did you impose Karl Vayno's dismissal?

[Savisaar] Let us say that it was the people. And we are with the people. Vayno had lost all his prestige and could not retain his post. However, there are still conservatives

within the party. This is why we are calling for an extraordinary CPSU congress in Estonia—to change the face of the Central Committee.

[Mauro] Has the party countered the Front's progress?

[Savisaar] Perhaps at the outset, some considered stopping us, but they must have realized immediately that this would not be easy because the people are with us, which is what counts.

[Mauro] How many CPSU members are there in the Front?

[Savisaar] This is difficult to say because we have neither membership cards nor registers and, for the present, not even an administrative office. However, at a meeting in Tallin the other day, I asked for a show of hands from all those who, like me, belong to the CPSU—approximately half of those present.

[Mauro] Why did you not succeed in influencing the choice of conference delegates, despite your strength?

[Savisaar] It is very simple: because the party plenum had the final word and turned down whichever candidates it wanted. In any case, people believed that the delegates were not chosen democratically. For this very reason, we asked the delegates who will go to Moscow to come to our meeting to say whether or not they accepted the Front's platform. Only five attended. Nevertheless, you will see that in Moscow the others, too, will support our line: Otherwise they would not dare return to Tallin.

[Mauro] Is there any link between your movement and the Armenian protest?

[Savisaar] Our Armenian friends have been here. We exchanged plans and platforms. We will remain in contact and see what happens.

[Mauro] Does the Front identify with Soviet socialism?

[Savisaar] Yes, as long as a distinction is made between socialist principles and Stalinist practice. In any case, we believe there is no conflict between socialism and a market economy.

[Mauro] A market economy is to some extent envisaged by your blueprint for "economic sovereignty" for Estonia: What specifically does it entail?

[Savisaar] It means that all the wealth produced by Estonia must be available to our republic, which can decide freely how to use it. This means that the republic can set prices, charges and incomes, and guide our economic exchanges in whichever direction it wants. Bearing in mind our traditions, I believe that an autonomous Estonian economy should be oriented toward the Scandinavian countries in an entirely new kind of interconnection between East and West.

[Mauro] Dr Savisaar, now that this first rash of demonstrations and platforms is over, how do you intend to make the people's wishes influence the party's and soviet's decisions?

[Savisaar] Through the referendum, for instance. It is a constitutional right of ours, but we cannot use it because there are no laws permitting it. We want such laws to be passed as soon as possible.

[Mauro] Could the Front become a second party?

[Savisaar] We want to make the CPSU democratic. Pluralism is a problem, but not the main problem.

[Mauro] What is your reply to charge that the Front is a separatist movement?

[Savisaar] We have no desire to separate from the USSR. As I told one of our members at the meeting, we want to be able to live happily in our own land, deciding for ourselves what constitutes happiness.

PRAVDA Interviews Uzbek, Tajik Party Leaders
PM2806141788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jun 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

["Our Interviews" in Dushanbe with R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent V. Artemenko and correspondent O. Latifi respectively: "To Seek a Solution Together"; date not given—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] In Dushanbe a few days ago, an Uzbek delegation had a meeting with leaders of Tajik party and soviet organizations, representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, and workers in the mass media. The guests visited enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, sovkhoses, organizations, and establishments.

PRAVDA correspondent V. Artemenko met with R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

[Artemenko] Rafik Nishanovich, why have you made this trip? What is its purpose?

[Nishanov] We have come to Tajikistan to outline ways to further develop and strengthen cooperation, economic and cultural ties, and the international education of working people of the two neighboring union republics. The roots of the fraternal peoples' friendship stretch back deep into the centuries. Uzbeks and Tajiks have much in common in their culture and everyday life. Probably the only thing that tells us apart is the fact that our languages belong to different linguistic families. The friendship and the inspired creativity of Dzhami and Navoi and many other literary figures are the embodiment of our peoples' fruitful ties. It was clear even during

those times that culture by its nature does not tolerate exclusivity. The national aspect is constantly built up and renewed by the achievements of other peoples.

It is possible to accelerate the development of each republic's economy and culture only on the basis of strengthening the republics' effective ties and mutual assistance. Feelings of fraternal solidarity have entered the flesh and blood of our peoples. For example, the creation of a mighty system of reservoirs to regulate the flow of rivers flowing over our republics' territory has enhanced the supply of water to agricultural land and made it possible to open up new land. Uzbek kolkhozes have been granted the long-term use of pastureland tracts on Tajik territory, as have Tajik kolkhozes in Uzbekistan. And I could cite many such examples.

At the same time, we are clearly aware that manifestations of departmentalism and parochialism are particularly intolerable under conditions of a unified national economic complex. Because of them, contract discipline is violated, plan deliveries are disrupted, and the resolution of statewide tasks is complicated.

[Artemenko] We have frequently heard recently that Tajiks living in Uzbekistan make serious complaints to local organs of power over the infringement of their legitimate rights. How valid has this discontent been?

[Nishanov] Yes, during the period of stagnation, there were distortions and deformations about Tajiks. The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee has made a principled assessment of them. For example, schools and classes with instruction in the Tajik language were cut back. After repairs were carried out in a Samarkand school, a V.I. Lenin dictum in the Tajik language was painted out. Sensitivity and attention were not always shown to people's vital needs. The demand for literature and periodicals in the Tajik language was not met in full. For technical reasons, there were difficulties over reception of television programs from Dushanbe in Samarkand and Bukhara Oblasts, where many Tajiks live. But no one tried to straighten out communications.

Among the intelligentsia today, there is still a certain lack of understanding in matters of the two peoples' historical past, and proper balance is not always observed in illumining the history of the Central Asian republics' national-state demarcation. Despite the existence in historical literature of indications that Ibn-Sina (Avicenna) was a Tajik, a number of Uzbek scientists try to use the "Central Asian" formula, thus giving Tajik scientists grounds for speaking of an unscrupulous approach to reality. A certain section of the Tajik intelligentsia in turn raises questions of the so-called "assimilation" of the Tajiks of Bukhara and Samarkand Oblasts and tries to cast doubt on certain historical aspects of the Central Asian republics' national-territorial demarcation in the twenties.

[Artemenko] What specifically will be done in the very near future to strengthen the two peoples' good-neighbornliness and friendship?

[Nishanov] Socialist democracy has a great role in strengthening the peoples' unity and friendship. The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th party conference set the task of ensuring the active participation of citizens of every nationality in the work of all management links. Tajiks now make up approximately 4 percent of our republic's population. Their proportion among the republic's leading workers is roughly the same. We try to ensure that this composition as a whole reflects the republic's national structure. Of course, a mechanical approach is inadmissible here, and we must unwaveringly observe Leninist norms in the selection, placement, and training of cadres and assess people on their political, business, and moral qualities.

Measures are being implemented to further improve work among the Tajik section of the population and to develop fraternal ties with Tajikistan in accordance with the plan of joint measures of the central committees of the two republics' communist parties, which provide for the further deepening of economic, scientific, cultural, and interethnic relations between the two republics.

The regular relaying of Tajik television broadcasts to Bukhara Oblast will begin in the very near future. The Uzbek SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the party committees of border oblasts are organizing regular radio broadcasting in the Tajik language in regions where there is a dense Tajik population.

The republics' resources must be actively pooled to resolve common regional problems—ecological and others. Residents of Tajikistan are alarmed that there is a growing water shortage in Uzbekistan. But this is largely connected with the state of the Pamir glaciers. This is where our joint efforts and studies are needed.

It is planned to increase the number of classes with instruction in the Tajik language in Uzbekistan in the new academic year. As of this year, Tajik secondary school graduates in eight Samarkand and Bukhara VUZ's are sitting examinations in their native tongue. Ties between masters of literature and art in the republics are strengthening. The "Lola" ensemble, Dushanbe Puppet Theater, and other collectives recently performed in Uzbekistan. A Tajik literature section has been formed in the Uzbek Writers Union. It is a matter of honor for us and our patriotic and international duty to constantly strengthen and develop this friendship. And the Tajik and Uzbek Communist Party Central Committees, our republics' supreme soviets and governments, and all public organizations are working in this direction.

The preparations for the 19th all-union party conference are giving a boost to all this work. The program elaborated in the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the

renewal of all spheres of our life and the development of interethnic relations is the basis of further advance along the path of restructuring, of strengthening the peoples' friendship, and of the working people's international education. [Nishanov ends]

PRAVDA correspondent O. Latifi met with K.M. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee.

[Latifi] Kakhar Makhkamovich, ours is a unified country. We have common misfortunes and joys. The underground quakes that devastated Tashkent and Kayrakum caused pain throughout the union. And help came from everywhere. But interethnic relations must not be reduced just to literary and art festivals. Is this not the root of misunderstandings?

[Makhkamov] Yes, ours is a unified country—the USSR. We really do have common misfortunes and joys. But, at the same time, each region of our country has its own special features conditioned by its people's historical development and by the level of socioeconomic, political, and cultural development reached.

The country's unified national economic complex is the basis of our friendship. Each republic occupies its own special place in it and makes its own contribution to the common cause which another republic will be unable to take over. This determines each union republic's sovereign role in the all-union division of labor, regardless of its size and product volumes.

Unfortunately, such an understanding of our economic unity and of the significance of each republic's contribution has not yet been fostered in many of our citizens. Here, too, the gross-output approach sometimes comes to the fore and prompts misunderstandings in national questions.

Every one of us could cite many examples of international assistance to various regions whose population has been hit by a natural disaster. This is the most vivid, graphic example of the Soviet people's internationalism. Instances of a hyped, ostentatious manifestation of internationalism do, of course, occur. But it must not be forgotten that such accretions are alien to genuine internationalism.

A broad mutual exchange exists between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in the spheres of the economy, culture, tourism, and sport. But it clearly lacks purpose and, I would say, substance and orientation toward resolving specific tasks.

Take, for example, the now traditional socialist competition among the cotton-growing republics of Central Asia and Azerbaijan. For some time it was, quite frankly, of a ritual, ceremonial nature and was accompanied by lavish banquets and fine speeches. Of course, such an "exchange of experience" did little for the development

of agriculture. Nor did it produce appreciable results in the sphere of strengthening interethnic ties, as it was divorced from real life. We now take all those miscalculations into account, and the competition or, more correctly, the exchange of experience, particularly in cotton growing, is, in our view, acquiring real meaning and will help the cause of accelerating each republic's socioeconomic development.

A few words about cultural exchange. We believe, for example, that the quantitative approach is totally unacceptable in this sphere. You rightly remarked that interethnic relations in the past largely amounted to literary and art festivals and similar one-shot events. What is more, their formal nature did not strengthen our peoples' friendship. This is why we are seeking today to free cultural ties from everything alien and to impart a truly fraternal, creative nature to them.

[Latifi] Statistics show that Uzbeks make up more than 20 percent of the population of Tajikistan. I would like to know how far their interests and needs are taken into account, how they are represented on elected organs, and whether there are any unsolved problems here.

[Makhkamov] Representatives of almost 80 nations and ethnic groups live in the republic today. Of these, the Uzbeks, Kirghiz, and Turkmens settled on the territory of modern Tajikistan along with the Tajiks from the earliest times and have a common historical destiny with them. In a multinational republic, where Ukrainians and Russians, Belorussians and Kazakhs, Germans, Tatars, and representatives of other nations live, no approach can be justified other than comprehensive regard for and satisfaction of the national needs of each of them.

Speaking of the Uzbeks who live in Tajikistan, their interests are taken into account. The daily newspaper SOVET TOZHIKISTONI is published in the republic in the Uzbek language, there are pages in the oblast and rayon newspapers, programs on Uzbek television's first channel are relayed every day, and there is the Uzbek Musical Comedy Theater. There are 952 schools in the republic with instruction in the Uzbek language, there are faculties and departments in VUZ's in the cities of Dushanbe, Leninabad, and Kurgan-Tyube, and textbooks are published for them. Government resolutions are published and official measures conducted in the Uzbek language on a par with Tajik and Russian.

The interests of the Uzbek population are also taken into account in the formation of elected organs and the nomination of leaders of labor collectives. Thus, they make up 24-28 percent of party committee members in Leninabad and Kurgan-Tyube Oblasts and, correspondingly, 22.5-24.5 percent of primary party organization secretaries. They make up 21-28 percent of kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhoz and interfarm enterprise directors. But there are questions that we have not resolved

either. For example, the Uzbek population in Kurgan-Tyube Oblast is unable to watch Uzbek television broadcasts. I hope that the USSR Ministry of Communications will help us resolve this question. There is also a shortage of textbooks in the Uzbek language, as well as in Tajik incidentally, although quite a lot are published. The republic's printing base also has to be seriously restructured.

[Latifi] Readers will be interested to know what the two republics' leaders spoke about and agreed on.

[Makhkamov] We agreed to further strengthen our cooperation in various spheres of social life, not least in the sphere of strengthening interethnic relations. We recognized the need to broaden our contacts in the spheres of education, science, and culture.

On this plane, I believe that the contract concluded on scientific cooperation between the Tajik and Uzbek Academies of Sciences will play its role. Joint research in the sphere of the natural and social sciences is envisaged under this contract. In particular, the joint research envisaged by the contract into problems of the scientific principles of the development and improvement of the economy of Central Asia and the rationalization of economic ties between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and historical-political building in the region are of great significance for improving interethnic relations.

Bilateral ties will develop between ministries, departments, VUZ's, creative unions, and labor collectives. And the chief conclusion of our meeting is that there are no objective obstacles in the way of developing all-around ties between the two republics.

Actions of Leningrad Rights Group Criticized
PM2808165188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents V. Grinin and M. Melnik: "Shadows of Kaiserstrasse: They Pay Lipservice to Restructuring. But a Vast Gulf Separates Them From the Millions of Soviet People Who Are Sincerely Behind the Country"]

[Text] Leningrad, Moscow—The other day a group sent to several editorial offices a letter with the specious title "Appeal to the Public" in which, among other things, it announced its decision as the "Leningrad branch" to join the International Society for Human Rights, whose headquarters is in Frankfurt am Main in the FRG. The appeal is signed by the "group council"—R. Yevdokimov, V. Pogorilyy, Yu. Rybakov, and S. Sazhin. As it transpired at a meeting at the correspondents' office, the "formalities" have already been settled with the leadership in Frankfurt.

There is another thread linking the "group council" with the city on the Main: its chairman, Rostislav Yevdokimov.

Yevdokimov, a member of the People's Labor Alliance (NTS) for many years now, tries in every way to deny any link between the International Society for Human Rights and the NTS. You can understand his zeal—after all, even abroad, among emigre circles, NTS has an odious reputation: White Guard ideological roots, collaboration with the Gestapo during the war, and the hiring of its "servants" to Western intelligence.

Attempting in 1972 to hide such incidents in its history, the "alliance" even painted a wing of its premises with the deliberately misleading emblem of the "Human Rights Society" and for extra cachet added the word "international" to that title.

The representatives of the would-be "Soviet social organization" had already suffered their first setback by the time they came to the newspaper correspondents' office. The day before "council member" Sergey Sazhin had traveled to London, which he apparently took to be the capital of Israel, which had invited him to take up permanent residence...

Yevdokimov took first one document then another from a large yellow envelope. First the appeal, then a statement, next the founder's charter, then his own charter. Then he produced the "Leningrad group's" impeccably printed form. "We received these forms literally yesterday from the leadership in West Germany," the "chairman" explained. However, to the request to leave a copy of this polygraphic masterpiece at the correspondents' office, he snapped a categorical reply: "We have been ordered to give them to no one!"

There were no explanations of the "leadership's order," and thus we can only guess at its nature. The form also gave the precise address from which the action program is dictated to "Yevdokimov's company": Kaiserstrasse-72.

Incidentally, judging by the provisions of the "Yevdokimovites'" charter, they aren't counting very strongly on securing official recognition in Leningrad—after all, the "real charter enters into force on the day of its approval by the International Society for Human Rights." And on Kaiserstrasse that has already been done without delay. Clearly, they didn't even have time to examine properly what their new subordinates had in mind. The latter, clearly doing everything possible to please their masters, hinted themselves in the "document" at a link between the "human rights society" and the NTS.

Let us quote from the "document": "The group may have its own members in other cities in the USSR... and will promote the creation of groups and sections of the society in the USSR." Thus, with a simple stroke of the pen, Yevdokimov's charter acquired the "Moscow International Society for Human Rights group" headed by Valeriy Senderov, long ago unmasked as an NTS member. The question is, what is there that they can share? Their careers seemed similar: "work" for the NTS, trial, imprisonment, pardon, a share of the leadership of a

dozen "like-minded Soviets" in Moscow and Leningrad (they haven't managed to muster any more yet). But the two of them disliked even this "division of power." The Moscow agent specializing in the procurement of lost souls wanted control of all the other six but the "NTS station chief" in Leningrad got his own back, outflanked him, and went for complete independence. Furthermore, he had his sights set on "other cities," in other words, Senderov's fiefdom! Yevdokimov had already announced the beginning of his offensive to his rival by an actual attack when he recruited Olga Korzinina, a girl from the Moscow region, into the "Leningrad group."

"Executive Secretary" Yuliy Rybakov looks like the kind of man who wouldn't ignore any form of injustice. Just recently he joined the leadership of the "Experimental Fine Art Association," one of the first amateur associations in Leningrad, and it therefore seemed quite natural that Rybakov should channel his energy in his new "executive" capacity into the protection of historical and cultural monuments.

Gathering a pile of papers to himself he began reading a succession of the "Leningrad group's" appeals. Clearly, its members had decided to join in the debate being conducted in the Soviet press and on the radio and television around the problem of protecting the cultural heritage. True, it seemed rather strange that it should want to take all Soviet territory under its protection: The Baltic, the Transcaucasus, and Central Asia were included in the zone of "vital interests" of the half-dozen "defenders of rights."

They only place they hadn't laid their hands on was... Leningrad itself. Apparently the executive secretary thought that his personal involvement in the fate of Leningrad's architectural masterpieces would fully make up for that omission. The fact is that several years ago, Rybakov the architect (!) had been charged in court with... deliberately damaging unique monuments constituting an integral part of the world's cultural heritage. He and his accomplice daubed a number of landmarks in the city on the Neva with paint that was hard to wash off and covered them with hooligan graffiti. The executive secretary applied his handiwork to the Rostralnaya column, the Tauride Palace, the Conservatory, and the Neva embankments. About 50 square meters of the Peter and Paul Fortress' walls were also disfigured.

But the members of the Yevdokimov group set the most treacherous trap for themselves in one of the main points of the charter: "The group gives support only to those people and organizations which renounce the use and propaganda of violence."

"Council member" Valentin Pogorilyy is particularly distinguished in this area.

"...Our aim is the destabilization of the internal situation in the country by means of acts of provocation, sabotage, and terror, for which combat groups are created subordinate solely to the central leadership via their commander. If one group fails the rest are still combat capable. Without external economic and political aid it is virtually impossible to carry out these tasks. Therefore, since our interests coincide on many things we request political and financial assistance as well as aid in the form of weapons."

That appeal is signed by Valentin Pogorilyy. The intention was to deliver it to a U.S. diplomat with whom the present-day "fighter for rights" had tried to establish a link. However, instead of meeting a foreigner he found himself... in the dock.

During the investigation it emerged that Pogorilyy had taken practical steps to create a terrorist organization and had tried to recruit his friends into it, including representatives of the fair sex. A search of the apartments of Pogorilyy and his friends uncovered explosives, containers of strong poisons, and a "program" written by the "defender of human rights" in the vein of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

At the first interrogation Pogorilyy tried to explain the motives for his actions in the following terms: "I decided to establish contact with representatives of the U.S. Consulate in Leningrad with the aim of infiltrating the diplomatic organs of the United States and subsequently exposing their hostile activity against our state."

Having indiscriminately accused U.S. diplomats of hostile activity, Pogorilyy of course got carried away. Faced with the evidence he had to abandon his "private detective" story. For fairness' sake let us note that he had dreamed up this intricate plot even before arriving in Leningrad from his native Zhitomir.

In 1978, when Valentin was just 19 years old, he was arrested while trying to cross the Soviet-Polish border. What was his aim, you ask? Haven't you guessed yet? "To help the Soviet state," Pogorilyy explained. You see, he was planning to cross a further two borders, establish a base in the FRG, and then "infiltrate some hostile organization and work in the interests of our country."

By all accounts, the fantastic plans of this sensation seeker finally began to acquire clear form. On Kaiserstrasse they began talking about Pogorilyy with respect and even invited him to the FRG for an "exchange of experience."

Perhaps the "Leningrad group" really wants to throw itself into the breach of a possible "catastrophe" and thereby save our entire country? Not at all.

Quite a lot of what has been said in this article is well known to certain activists in the Leningrad self-motivated associations. Organizations as the "Experimental

Fine Art Association" and the literary group "Club-81" are even represented in Yevdokimov's group. Many people know the reason why the newfound "defenders of rights" are trying to attend as many meetings and debates organized by "Epicenter," "Man," "Trust," and "Peace Watch" as possible. They know that Yevdokimov will speedily pass on another report to his bosses in Frankfurt, where they impatiently await regular accounts of "work done."

All this is taking place against the background of talk about democracy and glasnost. Yet it is clear to every honest person that now, when the country's fate is being resolved, one of the most important purposes of glasnost is to unmask those who use speeches couched "in the spirit of the times" to hide the fact that they are ready to wreck restructuring and our future along with it.

Can the former Hitlerite toadies now working for NTS really be more interested in the triumph of socialism than we are ourselves?! No, it is all far simpler than that. The USSR's policy in the international arena and within the country is enjoying increasing popularity—our enemies are trying to take advantage of that, too. Using the words "restructuring" and "democratization," which are now fashionable in their vocabulary, they are trying to win young people over to themselves and then operate in keeping with the customary stereotypes of ideological saboteurs. The appeal by the so-called group of the International Society for Human Rights to the mass media is the latest attempt to deceive Soviet people. The latest but by no means the last...

Volkogonov on De-Stalinization, Party Conference
OW2606065088 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2125 GMT 18 Jun 88

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program]

[Text] [Colonel General Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, identified by screen caption as a delegate to the 19th party conference] We discussed in our last talk how the party tradition of holding party conferences was born and the role these conferences play in the life of the party. We also said that these conferences are, equally to congresses, the most important forums for Communists that decide the most important problems of life and activity of the country, state, and party. The last party conference, as we know, was held 47 years ago in February 1941, 4 months before the beginning of the war.

Few days remain now until the next, the 19th party conference. The rejuvenation that has begun—the rejuvenation long awaited for, I would even say the Leninist revival for which we have been waiting so long—could have been implemented as early as after the 20th party congress, but we know, unfortunately, that this beneficial process of normalization of our life came into a zone of

some kind of moratorium—let us put it this way—and many questions that could have been solved remained unsolved for almost 30 years after that.

So the all-union party conference opens in a few days. On the agenda, equal to the questions to be discussed—the known questions, such as the course of implementation of the congress decisions and democratization of our society—will be the problems of, in essence, fate-bearing choice: What kind of socialism do we have to renounce and what is the kind of socialism the construction of which we want to continue? To answer the first question, I would say that we have to renounce the thing we now call Stalinism. We understand Stalinism as a distorted theory and practice of socialism connected with dogmatism, bureaucracy, and authoritarianism. It is a very unfortunate fact that the absolute rule that established itself in our country since the late twenties and continued until the 20th party congress made a very heavy impression in the whole life of our society. There are many negative manifestations of this.

Sometimes the question is asked: Why did Stalinism acquire this revival and draw so much attention, especially in recent years? I imagine that Stalinism, to a considerable extent, revived as a kind of reaction to the years of stagnation and the lack of moral principles that have been condemned by all of us.

And the question is very important to us: How do we want to construct our life further, what kind of socialism do we need, and how do we make Lenin's concept of socialism confirmed in our lives? I am convinced that the conference will discuss this. I think that in order to make the real construction of socialism possible, we have to respond to the need for scientific and Leninist socialism.

They may say: Have we not already spoken about this? Yes we did, but now we need guarantees that the past we renounce and condemn will not return. We need the guarantees connected with the confirmation of democratic standards, guarantees for glasnost, and the guarantee for the rejuvenation of our cadres, and guarantees for the development of people's creative social activity.

I would like to emphasize equally with this that we are convinced that the management methods for the economy and all our economic life will be widely implemented—and hope that the party conference will be solving these problems.

Lastly: What is the role of each of us in these rejuvenation questions, in this Leninist rejuvenation, I would say? Goethe has a very interesting phrase: If you want to find what you are worth, do your duty. I think that each of us—a soldier, sailor, sergeant, warrant officer, officer—those over whose heads our glorified standards flutter, should do the duty entrusted to him by the country, the Motherland, not merely at an average level,

but according to very high criteria. I think that perestroika will start working only if each will do his duty selflessly—the party, Komsomol, official, moral, family duty; a man is always in debt to the society—and then we will obtain large, noticeable, and significant political, economic, social, and spiritual results. To think that someone will decide and do something for you—this wait-and-see attitude that sometimes can be seen through speeches or conversations of some individuals today is simply intolerable.

Perestroika, aside from its political and social indices, is primarily the readiness of each man to do his duty totally, creatively, and in the way it must be done.

Well, the party conference opens in a few days. Looking through the pages of previous conferences, we can say that all these, particularly those in which Lenin participated, were very important landmarks in the life of the party and state. We all have grounds to think that the forthcoming conference will also be a great event in the life of our society.

Classical Roots of Stalin Tyranny Examined
PM2906153988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Jun 88 pp 2, 3

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor O. Volobuyev and Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor S. Kuleshov, leader of the CPSU "Faculty of Historical Experience": "History Does Not Tolerate Half-Truths"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; bold-face as published]

[Excerpts] Restructuring has touched the most varied aspects of our public life. Particularly history. Whereas people used to previously go to star-studded shows, now they go to lectures and round tables given by historians. Yes, we want to know our past. For the sake of the present and the future. Scholars from the Moscow Higher Party School—Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor O. Volobuyev and Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor S. Kuleshov, leader of the CPSU Faculty of Historical Experience, who have edited the book "Purification: History and Restructuring" ["Ochishcheniye: Istoriya i Perestroyka"] for publication by NOVOSTI, expound their views on certain problems in our recent history.

Stalin: The Image of a Leader [vozhd] [subhead]

Restructuring has already uncovered many layers of the difficult Stalinist past. Voices have begun to be heard: "Perhaps, that's enough? Let's tackle the present." But no—that's not enough. For we are only feeling our way along the approaches to this most complex subject—the building of socialism in the USSR. It is in the past that we must seek the answers to very many current questions. How long and assiduously we gauged our understanding of phenomena in social life by Stalin's Talmudic "first, second, third" and by his definitions. To this

day we are still the "heirs of that time," horrified by unusual thinking, allergic to opinions that are at variance with primers and reference books, apologists (often now camouflaged as a "well-considered" and "principled approach") for what, in the guise of socialism, did indeed constitute a gross distortion of Leninist ideas about that society. Some people were unwilling to realize that real successes were achieved not in the name of, but in spite of Stalin. They were unwilling to see that the terrorist campaigns to combat "pests" not only destroyed the shoots of relations sown on the field of building a new world through revolution but also considerably infected the root system.

One of the most important achievements of the public idea of restructuring, in our opinion, is that "Staliniana" have begun to be destroyed.

Take the problem of Lenin's testament, which is acute today. The opinion emerged that it had through party information channels become the property of the broad party public. The extent to which this mechanism for "notification" accords with Leninist norms and principles of democracy merits special discussion. One can hardly acknowledge the "legality" of this kind of procedure. One cannot fail to see in it the desire to conceal Lenin's features to some extent. It is one thing for delegations and private letters and another to give a verbatim report.

So Lenin's opinions caused Stalin evident discomfort. Admittedly, he went through the motions of "demanding" that he be relieved of the post of general secretary, but his alignment of cadres in the party aktiv enables one to presume that this was nothing but a political bluff to create definite political capital, the dividends from which could be (and were) used skillfully in a future power struggle.

In his speech at the 23 October 1927 session of the joint Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum, which was first published in PRAVDA and then in a 10,000 print-run collection "The Party and the Opposition on the Eve of the 15th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress" published in 1928, he made public the part of Lenin's testament that related directly to himself. You have to turn to Stalin's speech at the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee Politburo session of 11 October 1926 in order to understand this step. Then he stated: "There is no doubt that the opposition has suffered a severe defeat. The enemy has been defeated and things that were not the property of the entire people in 1923 can be made public."

But even now Stalin did not cite all Lenin's opinions and possibly did not cite the most important ones. He only read out the section that said he was rude and that this shortcoming was intolerable in the post of general secretary. Then the explanation followed right away: "Yes, I am rude, Comrades, toward those who flagrantly and

perfidiously destroy and disrupt the party. I did not and do not conceal this." When preparing the 10th volume of his essays, Stalin thought it possible to omit the text itself of Lenin's testament, and to make several—at first glance, insignificant—insertions in his text. But they were only insignificant at first glance. The initial text read: "People say that Comrade Lenin's 'testament' asked the congress to consider the question of replacing Stalin in the post of general secretary with another comrade." After the "congress" Stalin inserted "in view of Stalin's rudeness." After "I did not and do not conceal" he inserted the following: "It is possible that certain mildness toward factionalists is required here. But I don't possess this quality."

The insertions are very revealing. They illustrate Stalin's desire to foul the trail. Allegedly, Lenin's main accusation against him was rudeness. But the course of the internal party struggle showed (which Lenin could not have foreseen) that this trait in Stalin's character played its role in combating the opposition who encroached on party unity. Stalin diverted attention from Lenin's main worry—the problem of the "unbounded power" Stalin held after becoming general secretary. [passage omitted]

What Kind of Socialism Have We Built? [subhead]

There is no doubt that this is one of the most complex questions facing us. Enlightenment is even agonizing in some respects. Especially for people of the older generation who have done their job honestly and conscientiously. Must their Komsomol youth and their unprecedented enthusiasm all be discarded? Where can we get an instrument that will measure such phenomena as devotion to an idea and moral purity?

The discussion must be far-reaching, and we are sure that it is up front for social scientists.

Once again it is very revealing to turn to Stalin's ideals. D. Volkogonov has already said that when studying Stalin's personality he turned to images of the tyrants and despots of the past. For our part, we will say that by and large these analogies are correct, although one must take into consideration their limits. Thus, imperial Rome and particularly the principate of Octavian Augustus interested Stalin very much. Let us explain—this was authority in democratic wrapping.

R. Vipper's "Studies in the History of the Roman Empire" ["Ocherki Istorii Rimskoy Imperii"] are covered with his underlinings. Notably the pages on Augustus' principate. He has highlighted: "Preparation For the Principate." He devoted a great deal of attention to work on S.G. Lozinskiy's book "The History of the Ancient World" ["Istoriya Drevnego Mira"] (Petrograd, 1923). In the "Empire" section he underlined the following: Octavian Augustus is the "first citizen, princeps... supreme ruler." What is more, nothing else aroused his interest on those pages. Somewhat earlier he marked the parts about Caesar's saying that he appropriated the title

"victor leader (imperator)..." The things that Stalin underlined in the section "Sulla's Constituent Dictatorship" are quite significant. He noted and underlined the section on the proscriptions: Lists of people who were sentenced to death without trial, investigation, or motive were published, these people were declared to be outside the law, their property was confiscated by the treasury, and anyone could and should kill them.

It seems that there are several aspects to the problem in question. First, the stadial aspect, second the typological, third, the transition from one model to another. The society that took shape toward the late thirties is stadial and relates to previous immature forms of socialism. We believe that objective conditions did not make it possible then to emerge to different stadial forms. This was not dependent on who was guiding the building of socialism. But the type of concrete historical socialism was dependent on the theoretical model that took shape in the minds (or mind) of the architects. In order to understand the model of socialism it is first and foremost necessary to understand Stalin's ideas. In our opinion, three main ideas can be singled out: leveling socialism, state socialism (the area of political thought that regards the state as the supreme result and the aim of social development), and coercion (violence) as the universal means of resolving political and social questions. First, a word about the idea of leveling socialism. It must not be understood in the narrow sense: exclusively in terms of material equality. Broadly speaking it is the leveling of all social groups, all individual—including spiritual—requirements, and all manifestations of individuality. It is no coincidence that the following formula arose: No man is irreplaceable.

Leveling went hand in hand with asceticism. Stalin was interested in Spartan education. In one primer he crossed out the sentence: "Children in Sparta had a joyless life devoid of merrymaking and kindness." Incidentally, a word about the asceticism of the leader himself. Two palaces were kept for him on the southern shore of the Crimea alone—the Livadiyskiy Palace (formerly the tsar's palace) and the Vorontsovskiy Palace in Alupka. And what of the carousing with his political entourage? The tables laden with wines, cognacs, and victuals!

But the essence of the etatist idea is that, while being the tool for building socialism the state is also the form in which socialism is implemented. But whereas for Lenin the state of the soviets was the form of real people's power, for Stalin socialism was built, to use the writer A. Platonov's expression, on the pull of the apparatus. This gave rise to the fusion of the state and party apparatus. The state is in practice identified with and coincides with the administrative system. Aristotle said: The state needs strict education from the people. In Stalin's eyes this could have looked as if the people need strict instruction from the state. The state of "universal prosperity" cannot ensure the good of the people's power through the rule of the administrative system. Thus, the concrete

historical type of socialism we obtained may be described as the etatist leveling type. The absolutization of command-edict methods of management in all spheres of public life ranging from the economy to creative activity is also characteristic of Stalin and this brand of socialism. We think that this deformed model of socialism was not historically inevitable. Its affirmation is largely associated with deviation from the general party line elaborated under Lenin, which envisaged building socialism under conditions of a civil peace based on the union of the working class with the peasantry, the development of their common production and political culture, and the establishment of public control over the activity of state organs.

It seems that Stalin himself was "tormented" to a certain extent by the problem of the kind of society that was built under his leadership. Reading the aforementioned manuscript of Afinogenov's play "The Lie" ["Lozh"], in one place one character (the "degenerate") asks: "Are we to turn to toadies and turncoats? To the system of Mohammedan socialism?" Stalin wrote "command" instead of "Mohammedan." What does it matter what the enemy may say. Reality rattles him and he unwittingly gives the game away.

His library contained two copies of USSR history primers. In one Stalin crossed out the sentence: "Socialism Has Been Built in Our Country." He messed around with the title of the last chapter (the 1937 primer). It was called "Socialism Has Been Built in the USSR." Instead of built he first wrote "has conquered." Then in another edition he called it "The Building of Socialism in the USSR." Whereas this question worried Stalin, it didn't bother his team of theoreticians. Everything was clear to them.

Alternatives [subhead]

The word "alternative" has become very fashionable in the political lexicon in recent years, meaning the choice of one of two or several options. We say that "there is no alternative to peace," meaning that nuclear war would lead to the destruction of human civilization. We say that there is no alternative to restructuring in the Soviet Union, bearing in mind the futility and fatality as far as the country is concerned of retaining "post-Stalinist" and "Brezhnevian" political and economic structures. But when pondering the alternatives in the contemporary world of today you inevitably turn to historical experience and to the problem of choosing the path of social development.

The simplistic rectilinear idea of the historical process as progress determined solely by the development of production forces prevailed for a long time in Soviet historical science. According to this idea, progressive socioeconomic trends in society, if they emerged, should necessarily conquer. We will not quote examples from history that refute this assertion since we think that everyone will be able to find them for themselves. For if

you interpret history in the Marxist fashion, as the activity of people pursuing their goals (class, national, state, group, and personal aims, which may coincide in some areas and not in others), it is clear that the clash of opposing social interests is most often not predetermined in any given concrete historical situation. Otherwise the very point of a struggle with a calculable outcome becomes incomprehensible.

Ongoing disputes about "Stalinist" and other paths show that that one "package" purporting to be an "alternative" contains problems that are linked but that nonetheless require independent examination. There are at least two of them—alternative approaches to the program of building socialism (how to build socialism and which methods to employ) and to leadership within the party (Stalin and his rivals). Both these problems also contain the following aspect: Was the personality cult inevitable given those specific conditions? Despite the fact that, whatever happens, the number of alternatives increases, let us raise the most fundamental question of the twenties: Who would nab whom. We raise this question because it is so to speak a general alternative.

Disagreements, fundamental disagreements about paths of development cropped up within the ruling Bolshevik party precisely with regard to this fundamental question of building socialism in a petit-bourgeois country with semifeudal areas, a country with a multistructured economy. Can socialism win through in a country if it is reached through New Economic Policy [NEP]? At which turn must the path of NEP be closed? Will the peasantry always be the reliable ally of the working class in building socialism or will it have to be smashed? These "damnable questions" are behind all the zigzags and mix-ups in the ideological struggle of the twenties.

For the time being the path of NEP, based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the development and strengthening of this alliance, economic methods of management, and the desire to create a system of civilized cooperative workers, was supported by most of the Central Committee—Bukharin, Rykov, Stalin, Kalinin, Dzerzhinskiy, and others. But in 1928-1929 the situation changed. Stalin and his entourage abandoned the NEP path, deeming its resources to be exhausted. Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomskiy themselves proved to be "deviationists and oppositionists."

When resolving the question of the fate of a particular alternative, it is very important to study which political forces struggled for and against it and how. The fate of the NEP alternative in 1928-1929 was resolved without broad discussion, mainly within the Central Committee. Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomskiy defended the previous course and sent memorandums and statements to the Central Committee; their attempt to appeal to the party masses was immediately curtailed with the threat of

dismissal. Under these conditions everything determined, to use V. Selyunin's expression, which side the apparatus of power would support and on whose side it would place its leaden weight.

Collective will and collective reason could have become a real alternative to Stalin—so events turned out—rather than a particular individual or group of individuals. Incidentally, Lenin thought about this and warned the party of the ruinous nature of the rivalry between Trotsky and Stalin. The question of why an authoritative collective of party leaders in opposition to Stalin capable of defending the Leninist line of building socialism did not arise is a question that still needs to be studied. One thing is clear today: Many prominent figures in the Communist Party and the Soviet state who overlooked the internal party struggle, which they effectively transformed into a struggle for personal power, bear historical responsibility for Stalin's personality cult; the main thing is the need to watch over Lenin's most important precept of collective leadership.

'Mailbag' on Stalin's Role in War, Trotsky
LD2606130988 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Jun 88

[From the "Moscow Mailbag" feature hosted by Joe Adamov]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Announcer] Alfred Whitehead of Cape Cod, Massachusetts asks: Had not Stalin been a man of steel the Soviet Union might have lost the war against Nazi Germany, which would have meant defeat for the allies also since 80 percent of the German Armed Forces were on the Eastern Front.

[Adamov] You're right. The bulk of the German Armed Forces were on our front even after the opening of the second front in Europe. We routed three and a half times more enemy divisions than were routed by the allies on all the other fronts. [passage omitted] Now, as for the role of Stalin, what with glasnost, we've had no end of articles by our military men, by our historians, which prove he did more harm than good, and we won at the expense of 20 million lives. Prior to the war he arrested and shot something like 40,000 officers. Mind you, the absolute majority of our officers from colonel all the way up to marshal fell victim to his bloody purges. Marshal Vasilevskiy, our former defense minister, said that Hitler decided to begin the war against the Soviet Union to a great extent because he knew of the destruction, of the rout of the Soviet officer corps. He said there were divisions at the beginning of the war that were commanded by captains.

We were unprepared for the war in 1941, in 1941, and the fact that almost 6 million Red Army men were taken prisoner, mostly at the beginning of the war, is the result of Stalin not believing that Hitler would attack us despite the warnings by Mr Churchill and by our excellent military intelligence. The strategic and tactical errors of

Stalin are legion. They are much too numerous to mention here. The war, mind you, was won not because of Stalin's leadership but despite Stalin's leadership, by the heroism by the self sacrifice of our people. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Ralph Ellis of Tempe, Arizona, asks: What is the status of Trotsky? I believe Trotsky could be declared innocent of the incredible slander levelled at him at the purge trials.

[Adamov] [passage omitted] Ralph, we do not deny that Trotsky held very high posts after the revolution. But Mr Gorbachev, on our 70th anniversary, said Trotsky did not believe that socialism could be built in the Soviet Union if it were surrounded by capitalist nations. In foreign policy, Trotsky and his followers staked on exporting the revolution to other nations. At home he believed in ruling by administrative and military methods and in exploiting the village [as heard]. All this boiled down to putting at stake the fate of socialism in our country and the fate of the revolution. I personally doubt whether Trotsky will be rehabilitated. [passage omitted]

KGB Reports Cases of Economic Espionage
PM2906074188 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY
in Russian No 25, 18-24 Jun (Signed to Press 16 Jun 88) p 7

[Unattributed report under the rubric "USSR KGB Reports and Comments": "Extortioner"]

[Text] Some time ago USSR KGB organs obtained reliable information to the effect that a representative of a foreign firm, in contravention of existing rules in our country, had obtained and intended to take out of the Soviet Union a copy of a secret document containing information on what equipment USSR Ministry of the Communications Industry enterprises need to import and on the foreign currency allocated for purchasing it.

The attempt to take out the aforementioned document, which is an official secret, was prevented. A check established that it had been illegally passed to a foreign citizen by V.D. Shpunt and V.P. Lazutin, employees of a central scientific research institute under the USSR Ministry of Communications, against whom the USSR KGB took criminal action under Article 76(1) of the RSFSR Criminal Code.

The investigation established that Shpunt and Lazutin, when attending international exhibitions, entered into contacts which were not necessary for official purposes with representatives of foreign firms, and that they posed as experts in the production of printed circuit boards without whose assistance the foreigners allegedly would not be able to conclude contracts with Soviet partners. Acting as extortioners, Shpunt and Lazutin, to enhance

their prestige in the foreigners' eyes, deliberately exaggerated their official potential to influence Soviet foreign trade organizations to acquire imported equipment.

The foreign firms' representatives believed them, supplied them with technical information, and gave them small souvenirs. Gradually, Shpunt and Lazutin became accustomed to this treatment and attended exhibitions for the sole purpose of receiving "gifts." From March 1986, when they embarked on a criminal conspiracy motivated by a mercenary desire for bribes, they repeatedly passed secret information of an economic nature to representatives of foreign firms whom they encountered in the course of their work. Shpunt and Lazutin admitted that the souvenirs they were receiving no longer satisfied them. They longed to get rich, but their criminal activity was brought to a halt.

On 12 May this year the Moscow City Court examined the case against V.D. Shpunt and V.P. Lazutin and found them guilty of committing crimes under Section 1 of Article 76(1) of the RSFSR Criminal Code (passing information that constitutes an official secret to foreign organizations) and Section 2 of Article 173 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (accepting bribes) and, in view of their repentance and assistance in the detection of the crime, gave each of them a suspended sentence of 3 years' imprisonment with confiscation of property and compulsory work at national economic construction projects.

This case is no exception, unfortunately. In recent years other crimes have been detected, occurring as a result of the establishment of contacts with foreigners by certain Soviet citizens for the purpose of obtaining material benefits for services which were detrimental to state interests. There have also been cases where people susceptible to "gifts" or, rather, bribes have been noticed by imperialist states' special services and have been targets of provocative actions by them.

TRUD on Trial

PM2706171988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by special correspondent Yu. Dmitriyev: "There Is No Such Thing as a Free Lunch"]

[Text] What do customs officers at Sheremetyevo International Airport seize from dishonest passengers? Usually—and this is common knowledge—it involves undeclared thick wads of Soviet money, old musical instruments and paintings, or antiques that are national treasures. In the following case, however, KGB officers warned the customs officials that something unusual might be discovered. And indeed a file of papers, seemingly very ordinary ones written in Russian, lay on the customs desk. U.S. citizen L. Matthew, a representative of an American company, returned from the USSR without it in his baggage.

Specialists read the document with interest: It was a list—not one available to the general public, to put it mildly—of equipment for a plant under construction in a city for the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry. It was proposed that the equipment be purchased from a capitalist country, but which precise country had not then been decided.

Where had the American obtained the list and why?

They began investigating. An engineer working in Lutsik said that he had passed a copy of the list to Moscow colleagues Vladimir Shpunt and Vladimir Lazutin, staffers at the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry Central Scientific Research Institute.

In order not to weary the reader with waiting for a detective-story denouement, let us cite the words of those colleagues. Shpunt told the investigators, among other things:

"I have been visiting international exhibitions with Lazutin since around 1985. We introduced ourselves to foreigners as experts who had a big say in deciding which firm equipment would be obtained from. We exaggerated what we could do, of course, but, on the other hand, we looked respectable. Our plan was simple: Representatives of foreign firms would not want to miss the opportunity and would certainly want to gain our favor—to offer us mementos. Lazutin and I gradually took to the role and began visiting exhibitions with just one aim in mind—to obtain gifts..."

Lazutin was more to the point:

"Later, when we began to have information which could be of interest, in particular, to the employees of foreign firms, Shpunt and I thought: Here's a marvelous opportunity to make the foreigners shell out! We said, we'll give you the information, and you give us... In general by then mementos were no longer good enough."

Thus, everything is basically clear: The transfer of information of an economic nature constituting an official secret. In exchange for some recompense. What sort? Splendid metal-framed attache cases, electronic alarm clocks, a couple of bottles of Italian rose or chianti, a billfold, a set of ballpoint pens...

Trifles, you might say. Yes. But this, after all, was only the beginning. Shpunt and Lazutin were unable to broaden out. Cheka officers stopped them in time.

Shpunt and Lazutin are not spies, of course. But the moral dividing line between, on the one side, crime, and on the other, two young specialists, two officials—Shpunt, a leading designer at the institute, and Lazutin, a sector chief—was very blurred. Both had quite good salaries. But they were unable to resist the utterly primitive logic of "Why not grab a bit extra..."

All kinds of international fairs are constantly being held in our country. Specialists exchange opinions and information about achievements and conclude contracts at them. This kind of cooperation is mutually beneficial and promotes progress and the spread of advanced equipment and technology. But basic order must exist in this undoubtedly noble cause, a fact which, unfortunately, our specialists sometimes forget. They forget that neither the heightened attention paid to people by many Western businessmen nor, still less, the gifts are altruistic. The aims of such relations are well illustrated by the expression current in the business world that "there is no such thing as a free lunch..."

It should be particularly borne in mind that there have been cases where people with a weakness for "gifts," or, more precisely, bribes, have come to the attention of imperialist states' special services.

Everything in the case described by us proceeded according to the "classic" formula. Shpunt and Lazutin became frequent visitors to exhibitions. They were invited to rooms set aside for talks (every firm presenting its products has such), talked eagerly around a table generously provided with drink, and on leaving were presented with a shiny bag full of alluring prospectuses and a few trifles—as a memento! Lazutin and Shpunt were particularly courted by the Italian firm Sitco. At the "Optical Equipment" international exhibition the American L. Matthew and others likewise did the same. And our "heroes" began visiting these firms' offices in the capital's center. Last spring yet another Italian firm, Pluritech, also greedy to extract our commercial secrets, appeared on the scene.

Already during the investigation carried out by the USSR KGB investigator Lazutin had confessed: "I was completely convinced that there was little to be had from foreigners by maintaining purely friendly relations with them but that the handing over of secret information known to me through my job and the inclusion of firms' machine tools on the list of equipment to be purchased abroad would guarantee something..."

And the bribe-takers began thinking about more expensive gifts. Lazutin wanted a fur jacket and Shpunt asked that they be given a VCR each.

The investigation accurately established the kind of information that interested foreign firms and what they managed to extract from these citizens of ours. It was primarily information about the planned size of the foreign currency funds of the USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems for the purchase of imported equipment for producing printed circuit boards (parts essential for television and radio equipment). At the same time Western businessmen, who know how to keep their own commercial secrets, obtained information about the cost of a similar project offered to us by a competing Swiss company, Fela [name as transliterated].

That is not all. Acting, for example, in the interests of an American company, Lazutin and Shpunt included in the documents they drew up its equipment, which they said had to be acquired without fail. For this they received two Taiwanese pocket calculators. That's all!... Then followed the illegal transfer to firms' representatives of two USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry official documents containing a list of equipment intended for purchase abroad and the proposed price to which the Soviet side would agree...

Eventually the reckoning came. Authoritative experts confirmed in court that the information handed over to foreigners by Shpunt and Lazutin was private and constituted an official secret. Moreover, this unlawful activity could have had serious consequences for the sector—frustrating the commissioning of equipment and thus the production of greatly needed output by the "Elektronmash" Association.

Our society is becoming more democratic and open. International contacts are growing and multiplying in all spheres, including the economic sphere. We are glad of these ties and welcome them. We are categorically opposed to just one thing—the use of our openness against us, against our state interests.

While vaunting their democracy, Western industrialists and businessmen severely punish those who, in the language of Ilf and Petrov, "breach convention." That is, pass over and sell commercial and other secrets. No mercy is shown such people: If they are not imprisoned, then they are driven out as marked men.

Nor should we lapse into serene complacency. Particularly when the investigation of this case revealed a host of violations of procedure for the safeguarding and use of official documents and instances of indifference on the part of some officials and of the perfunctory execution of official duties by certain workers in the administration serving the diplomatic corps. Official representations have been made regarding all these cases. No responses on measures taken have yet been received.

There is also the following quite disgraceful fact. Lazutin's attorney, the well known Moscow lawyer M. Kise-nishskiy, decided for some reason to try to persuade his client to repudiate all the confessions he had made during the investigation. He set about achieving this end with such zeal that he drove his client to take a desperate measure: At the beginning of the trial Lazutin rose to his feet and... dismissed his defense attorney. The court met the defendant's request. He was defended by another lawyer. Presumably the Moscow City Collegium of Defense Attorneys will respond appropriately to Kise-nishskiy's use of unlawful methods of defense.

The Moscow City Court Collegium for Criminal Cases, presided over by member of the court N. Gordeyeva, with the participation of State Prosecutor I. Titov of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, returned a guilty verdict on V. Shpunt and V. Lazutin.

Part Two of IZVESTIYA Article on Dogmatism
PM2606120188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Part two of article by Professor L. Ponomarev, doctor of historical sciences, and V. Shinkarenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, under the rubric "19th Party Conference: Debating the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Dogmatism. Root and Branch"; boldface as published—Part One of this article was published in the 19 June Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 81-85]

[Text] Let us look truth squarely in the eye: Three times dogmatism has succeeded in leaving our socialist ship on the rocks and, if we have avoided catastrophe, it is only because we have found the force with enough flexibility and courage to sharply turn the helm.

The first time this happened was in the beginning of the twenties. At that time the young Land of the Soviets was placed on the brink of catastrophe by the cliches of war communism. But V.I. Lenin succeeded in saving our newly developing society by sharply changing policies toward the peasantry. Lenin's ideas of that time have not lost their value today. If, of course, they are applied on the basis of the new realities and not just copied, as dogmatists usually do.

The second time the country was led into an impasse by Stalin's dogmatism. The return to normal life and the restoration of Lenin's principles of leadership begun by the party in the middle of the fifties considerably improved the situation. The country gradually began to emerge from its barrack-like, bureaucratic socialism.

Dogmatism's third onslaught is linked with the era of stagnation. This period should be discussed in more detail. Because it is this period that now has the strongest influence on our actions and our way of thinking. If we attain a better understanding of past events we will also have a better understanding of what is happening now.

Stagnation is the real kingdom of dogmatism. It is a society asleep, where there is no movement of thought and life has essentially come to a halt. Dogmatism has penetrated every sphere of our society. In the economy it displayed a total disregard for the problem of the people's interests and had no wish to see that this would inevitably lead to the breakdown of production. In politics it tried to impose its will where it should have heeded the wishes of millions and, by persisting in its mistakes, greatly aggravated the shortcomings of our political system. The social sphere was for the most part ignored, as if it did not exist. And in ideology and education it cultivated arrant bureaucracy and boundless demagogy.

The echoes of that time are still clearly heard today. As is well known, the new edition of the CPSU Program defines the basic principles of communist morality: Collectivism, humanism, and social activeness. During a

recent survey, sociologists from the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Academy questioned secretaries of party organizations, members of labor collective party bureaus and party committees, and their administrative, trade union, and Komsomol leaders and asked them the following question: What is preventing these principles from being fully affirmed in the lives of Soviet people?

A total of 39 percent of the respondents gave the main reason as ignorance of the above principles. In other words, in their opinion, if people did know about them they would certainly act accordingly. Need it be said that ignoring the determining role of existence is idealism of the first water? This kind of dogma can be traced back to Plato. After all, it was his belief that you can foster awareness in people through persuasion. It is true that unlike today's armchair dogmatists he was prepared to risk his own life for the sake of the ideas he cherished.

During the years of stagnation it was believed that it was not so very difficult to organize proper political education for the masses. Just select the cadres, map out a plan of work, amend it to suit the particular features of the region or collective—and all systems go. All that remained was to periodically monitor its impact and then sum up the results at the end of the period under review.... But what was actually happening in people's minds? What kind of effect did these "measures" have on them? How did they act as a result? All these questions were pushed under the carpet or not asked at all.

It is obviously now clear to everyone that **precisely as a result of this approach our ideological education work is seriously out of touch with real life.** It has developed into a round of words that have little to do with reality or real action. It has become inward looking. The masses play the passive role of object, expected to do nothing more than listen to everything they are told and then mechanically act in line with the directives given.

This is the general pattern with which bureaucratic thought has endowed practice, thereby departing from fundamentally correct principles. This pattern is absurd. After all, anyone knows that people can listen to a great deal. But where is the guarantee that they will agree with the opinion of the speaker? Where is the guarantee that they will believe in it too rather than simply see it as another directive? A hush in the hall? Questions? Applause? All this can only deceive whoever wants to be deceived.

It is true that in the years of stagnation far from everyone appeared their conscience by yielding to dogmas from above. Simple common sense said that the path between word and deed is not straight, not obligatory, and not short and this should be borne in mind. But if dogmatists did bear this in mind, again it was more a matter of simply saying they did. Another resolution was adopted,

new turns of phrase appeared, but the approach remained the same. As before, one spoke, the rest listened. Words remained words. But real life took its own course.

The innovative teachers whose names are now famous throughout the country were perhaps the first to try to save at least the younger generation from the delusion of dogmatism. They had dealings with young people who could not tolerate the legitimized lie and had no wish to reconcile themselves to dogma—even if it was consecrated with impressive titles. S.A. Amonashvili, I.P. Volkov, Ye.N. Ilin, V.F. Shatalov, and many other teachers active in the seventies sought ways to renew education.

Looking back, we can see that during these years two quite different types of teacher evolved under similar conditions. The first—the dogmatist, who loyally went by the book, keeping rigidly within the limits and complying strictly with instructions. And his antipode—the tireless searcher, disturber of calm, and uncompromising fighter for truth. The dogmatist was not only totally indifferent to any kind of experimentation but also to the real, live children who came to his class every day. So the innovator experimented because he could not calmly stand by and watch schooling spiritually maim its charges.

But perhaps no one so clearly revealed the mutual responsibility of socialist dogmatism as the best representatives of the creative intelligentsia—and writers first and foremost. They were also opposed to dogmatic thinking during the years of stagnation, fought against stereotyped attitudes to life and sluggish minds, and tore off the blinders of formalism that bureaucrats were fitting on the eyes of the public. They launched a desperate struggle against bureaucratic thinking as a whole. One thing was linked to another—ecological dogmatism, underpinned by references to economic necessity, rapidly developed into economic dogmatism. This in turn, when professed at different levels of state administration, appeared before society wearing the uniform of political dogmatism—with all the trappings of socialist state power. With the full support of ideological dogmatism, which had long broken with the truth and concentrated exclusively on how best to explain the latest decision made from the top to the masses.

Moreover, dogmatists immediately accused all their critics of... dogmatism. They do not appreciate the realities of the new age, they said. They do not understand progress. They still think in the old way and are out of touch with rapidly changing reality....

In short, the same old tune.

But we should not console ourselves with the illusion that all this is now in the past. Nothing could be further from the truth. All you need do is look at the results of those sociological surveys. **More than 40 percent of the**

respondents did not rank human ability among the conditions indispensable for success in life and approximately half did not consider these conditions to include honesty, principle, or even a conscientious attitude to work. A total of 35.8 percent felt money was the main prerequisite of success and 31.5 percent—an ability to get along with the boss. One in four people indicated that, in their opinion, the most important conditions were family ties and links with "useful" people, an ability to "put yourself forward," and so forth. This is the result of moral dogmatism in people's minds.

So are our ideological cadres, who work within the framework of the old ways, now capable of radically changing the situation? Hardly. In any case practice shows that formalism—a variety of dogmatism—is still flourishing in the field of ideology and education.

This is understandable. The formalist finds it very convenient to serve in the ideological sphere. An idea cannot be gauged or weighed. This means that it is not immediately possible to establish what a person is really doing and whether he is any use or just words.

This is the result: Two-thirds of the leaders questioned remarked on the formalism in moral education. And more than four-fifths pointed out that there are discrepancies between what people see in real life and what they are told at lectures and propaganda talks. What is more, they do not expect to see any particular change in this respect. Assessing their own performance, less than half were able to say that they actively combat amorality. And 39 percent frankly said that they are not particularly active. And these are the people in charge of labor collectives in the conditions of restructuring.

As we can see, the problem is that dogmatism is the kind of social phenomenon that is constantly reproduced in any society. It exists in virtually every society to varying degrees. Even every innovator has to constantly work to overcome it in himself.

But if dogmatism cannot be completely eradicated, it can and must be stripped of its power. It must be placed in the same conditions as freedom of thought. Then it will be reduced to a minimum.

However, we must not allow excesses in the battle against dogmatism. It is important to be able to see its real sources in every specific case. In science, for example, dogmatism is often the other side of methodological discipline. The development of scientific knowledge is impossible without this discipline. But when interpreted superficially, formally, and taken to extremes, it turns into dogmatism.

Extremes are always fraught with dogmatism. Its fiercest opponents—some innovators who are ready to smash every dogma in sight without giving a great deal of thought to their content—on closer inspection quite often prove to be dogmatists themselves, only inside out.

Essentially they are pseudo-innovators who are only formally opposed to dogmatic thinking but are in reality themselves just as dogmatic as their opponents.

V.I. Lenin pointed out the danger of this pseudo-innovation more than once. This must not be forgotten today, when our society is particularly in need of new ideas. **Because we do not need just any new ideas but only those that will explode the dogmatic structures underpinning high-handed, administrative methods of leadership.** We need constructive, fruitful ideas that will develop socialism rather than return it to old ground.

"While supporting diversity of opinion," the Theses indicate, "the CPSU Central Committee stresses that discussions can only be fruitful on the basis of socialism and in the name of socialism."

Highlighting the main stages in the formation and development of the communist socioeconomic structure—the transitional period from capitalism to socialism, and socialism and communism, which represent the two phases of communist society—V.I. Lenin emphasized that "in fact real, rapid, truly mass progress in all spheres of public and private life, involving the majority of the population and then the entire population, begins only with socialism."

This Leninist idea is sharply reflected in the concept of accelerating our country's socioeconomic development which was put forward by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. However, this is not a simple, mechanical application of old ideas to new conditions. It must be frankly said that if this were the case it would be yet another manifestation of dogmatism.

But the whole point is that this is not the case at all. We see before us the living continuation of Lenin's ideas, which have been confirmed by the entire course of history. They are being creatively developed on the basis of the new situation in which our country, other countries, and the world as a whole now find themselves.

True, this certainly does not mean that the new concept is not threatened with the possibility of becoming dogma. Bureaucrats are well aware that any new idea can be drowned in various ways. You can make a great show of activity and actually do nothing at all. Or do what is not required. Or turn the new ideas into a collection of good intentions and repeat them over and over again. This will be dogmatism in action.

In a society where dogmatism has prevailed for a long time and it has long been the custom to declaim the latest slogans, **this danger remains a very real one until a fundamental revolution takes place not only in people's minds but also in their self-awareness.**

In other words, the masses not only have to assimilate new ideas, they also have to very consciously develop them. They must not impoverish and simplify these

ideas but, on the contrary, enrich them and make them more complex until they fully accord with the great complexity of our existence. Only then will the concept of acceleration radiate all the colors of living matter. Only then will it fully reflect all the depth of the real contradictions that are constantly reproducing in our society. And only then will the irreversible, accelerated movement of our society along the path of progress become possible.

But we must struggle for this to happen. If neglected, with the passage of time the concept will inevitably lose touch with real life. In that case dogmatists will not have to make any effort at all: It will develop of its own accord into a collection of outmoded formulas.

And life? Naturally, our uncommonly varied life would then once again be reduced to a gloomy, barrack-like, bureaucratic state of vegetation. Everyone would know his place and stay there. And the extraordinary prospects and gleaming heights that are slowly becoming visible to us in the gaps between the stormclouds looming over our country would once again become obscured by the gloom of bureaucracy. We would lose sight of the reference points it has been so difficult to find and fritter them away on placards and banners without putting them into practice.

That is why the problem of shaping a new awareness and a new way of thinking and the task of combating conservatism and the habit of thinking and acting "like we have always done" and "as we have been taught" have now been moved to the forefront and become a kind of threshold over which society must step but has not yet done so.

The solution would seem to lie in our entire society becoming a broad arena of socialist pluralism of opinion, where the millions of truths we so need would be generated in debate, discussion, and the clash of different views. Not, of course, at the expense of real, everyday work. Discussions are only productive when they are closely linked to practice and of assistance to it.

Nationwide discussion—what could be more alluring to free thought if it wants to find itself among the masses? Strictly speaking, this discussion has already begun—it began when the party embarked on restructuring and urged everyone to participate in a frank exchange of opinions on all problems. But this kind of discussion—even more large-scale, even more animated, even bolder, and even more constructive—must not be associated solely with the restructuring period. It must become the norm of our social life.

We are witnessing a broad wave of new ideas. The most diverse strata of the population are becoming more and more broadly involved in the development of these ideas. The search for new solutions is already bearing fruit.

The 27th CPSU Congress was an event of crucial significance in this respect. The new strategic decisions adopted at the congress smashed the stronghold of dogmatism created by principles of social consciousness geared to a quiet, complacent life. The new edition of the CPSU Program and documents from postcongress Central Committee plenums contain a wealth of creative potential of ideas which is now being incorporated into our everyday life.

Many state and social organizations are showing activity within this new direction. Personal contacts between leaders and the masses are expanding. Working people's letters are becoming more businesslike. The press, television, radio, and other mass media are working with vigor.

Nevertheless the exchange of opinions on a nationwide scale is still not effective enough. The whole point is that it is being conducted in traditional ways. It is quite often the case that an item in the press or on a broadcast makes a brief appearance and then disappears. The commissions periodically formed to analyze mass proposals often adopt a formal attitude. The proposals are sifted through in an off-hand manner and it is often true that the ones adopted are not particularly novel but are accepted because they do not run counter to established ideas.

We still have not succeeded in overcoming fruitless talk, demagoguery, and sensation. We are still unable to distinguish in good time between thought and thoughtlessness at discussions. Businesslike discussions are often replaced by a war of words between people with nothing better to do.

And although we have plenty of different ideological and educational institutions, it appears that too many cooks spoil the broth. And what a broth! All our hopes are now pinned on it.

In the twenties there were political education committees. The Main Political Education Committee headed by N.K. Krupskaya once combined all cultural education and agitation and propaganda work among the masses. It was the collective organizer of the process of shaping the masses' political culture. General education schools, courses, national universities, clubs, reading rooms, and red corners all operated under its aegis....

The work of the political education committees was built on a broad democratic basis. It continued successfully until it came into conflict with the high-handed, administrative system of leadership that was now much stronger. The political education committees were abolished in 1930. That is, precisely at the time when our society particularly needed them....

Any comparison, of course, leaves much to be desired. The situation and the tasks are now different. But we do need something similar even now. This is indicated in

the Theses. "We need a permanent mechanism for the comparison of views, criticism, and self-criticism in the party and society. The unquestionable achievements of the glasnost policy have to be consolidated and increased. With the one-party system that has evolved and become established in our country and is now organically linked with the processes of democratization, this question is vitally important."

There also needs to be a corresponding organizational structure that could be responsible for the general leadership of the process of constant nationwide discussion. The kind of structure that would gather new political ideas on an all-union scale, analyze them, study their practical application, and promote this application. An organization that would be open to all working people and to social organizations—trade union, Komsomol, and cooperative. It would also be open to any other associations, including so-called informal ones. It would attract young people, who as yet have no fear of anyone or anything. It would involve pensioners, who no longer fear. It would involve the mass media, which are becoming stronger. In other words, it would create real scope for creative thought free of dogmatism and deference to rank. With regard to the material and technical base necessary to this kind of organization, it already exists. We are thinking of the Political Education Centers, Palaces of Culture, and clubs which often stand empty. Political discussions could be held at these institutions.

All this is possible only if the work is done from below, on the masses' initiative, rather than from above, on a centralized basis, and as a result of administrative measures.

Is today's society capable of developing this kind of structure? Does everyone realize that our society is really undergoing revolutionary renewal? Do people have the desire and the courage to seriously discuss where we have come from, where we are going and how, what we should do right now, what we should do in the future, and what we should not do at all?

We are not talking about creating arbitrariness. The law is the same for all of us and we must all strictly comply with it.

Socialism is the living creativity of the people. Not a faceless people obedient to bureaucratic will. It is the creativity of independently minded people, able, active people. We are opening up their horizons! And if an idea finds support among the masses it cannot be cancelled out by any bureaucrat. Then the funeral of many dogmas holding back our life will be just around the corner; the dogmas that still constrict our minds, oppress our hearts, and tie our hands.

Agricultural

Measures To Boost Quality Grain Output Viewed
PM2906143588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin article under the rubric "Topical Subjects": "The Better, the More Expensive"]

[Text] If we are not satisfied with the quality of the bread in a bakery, it is certainly not always the bakers who are to blame. After all, you cannot bake a fluffy loaf with poor quality flour, just as you cannot make good flour from substandard grain. So why is there a shortage of good quality grain?

Here are a few figures. In the last two harvests agricultural workers have supplied millers with 15.6 million tonnes less than the required amount of bread-making grain; this figure includes a shortfall of 2.7 million tonnes of durum wheat, without which you cannot make good quality pasta products, tasty cakes, and cookies....

The main reason is that grain growers have lost economic interest.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a resolution on this matter. Markups have now been established on the purchase prices for durum wheat, soft strong wheat, valuable wheat, buckwheat, rice, oats, millet, barley, peas, beans, and lentils. The scale of markups is quite broad: from 200 to 20 percent according to quality. Markups of 150 and 50 percent have also been retained for the sale of these products in excess of the average annual 11th 5-Year Plan level. In total this could give farmers some R2.5 billion in extra proceeds.

"With extra payments like these, farmers will be out in the fields day and night—for quality is entirely in our hands!" A. Shumskiy, chairman of the well known "Kazminskiy" Kolkhoz in Stavropol Kray, could not conceal his satisfaction. "But there are still questions...."

I heard similar "buts" from other leaders as well. So what is the problem? First of all—doubts. After all, these large markups do not merely fall into your lap. You really have to work hard for them! But this is not much of a worry, because there is no alternative now: You regard yourself as your own master, so you work for your own interest.

But there is a more complicated problem. The resolution states that the quality of the grain must strictly comply with all-union state standards. But the present standards contain dozens of conditions and many of them simply complicate and confuse questions of quality. For 10 years grain growers fought to have these standards revised, yet they were made to accept a list of "permissible deviations" from the standards. And now the old All-Union State Standard is being unconditionally

brought into force again. It is quite clear that if the State Committee for Standards does not make the necessary changes, agricultural workers' hopes of real markups in return for quality will be illusory.

There are also other fears. Until this year the price of feed was established on the basis of the estimated cost of the feed components and the difference between the estimated and actual cost of raw material was made up from budget resources. Now this is no longer the case. That means....

"Yes, that means that the price of mixed feed will go up by approximately 20-30 percent," M. Timoshishin, USSR first deputy minister of grain products, confirmed.

I must make it clear at this point that concentrated feed sold to the population by consumer cooperative organizations will stay at the old price. There will also be no price rise in mixed feed for broiler poultry farming and subsidiary rural enterprises or in feed supplied to farms in exchange for high quality wheat.

Of course, a strong farm like the "Kazminskiy" Kolkhoz will be able to come up with the wheat for the exchange and will have no problem even if it has to pay triple the price—just so long as the goods are supplied. But many farms will not be in a position to do either. And so the possibility cannot be ruled out that they will begin to hold onto their grain, including bread grain, to feed their livestock.

By thus limiting the feed grain procurement base and simultaneously increasing bread grain purchases, we could be creating a situation where more and more valuable grain will have to be released from state resources to be used for mixed feed. According to official figures, we already feed livestock with 8-10 million tonnes of quality wheat every year. Why should we increase this wastefulness?

Statistical Committee on Agricultural Output
LD3006140488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0100 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Excerpt] According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the country's kolkhozes and sovkhoses continue to build up their output and procurement of stockbreeding produce. Since the start of the year, 404,000 tonnes more meat and nearly 2 million tonnes more milk were produced than last year. In the same time period cattle and pig numbers were reduced. Specialists believe that this may have an acutely negative effect on meat production in the next few years. Moreover, as before, much stockbreeding produce is being lost on the way from the kolkhozes and sovkhoses because of defects in procurement technology. [passage omitted]

Scientific

Further Details of 'Mir' Cosmonauts' Spacewalk
LD3006193188 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT
30 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Valentin Ovcharov reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov today began a complicated, nearly surgical operation to restore an instrument used in unique astrophysical observations on board the orbital station Mir (Peace).

The two left the comform of their space station to replace a detector unit, the heart of an X-ray telescope, TTM.

What has happened? Well, it was nothing extraordinary. The research module Kvant has a section set aside for scientific equipment, instruments and units operating outside the station.

These are an on-board observatory Roentgen, mass 800 kilograms, which comprises several telescopes, including the TTM.

This instrument, developed by scientists in Great Britain and the Netherlands with the participation of Soviet experts, is truly a miracle of science and technology.

It was used to obtain most valuable information in a little more than one year, which was distributed for the world scientific community. Its price tag is corresponding—tens of millions of dollars.

Two months ago, when the TTM detectors service cycle ended, there emerged the question: What to do with the telescope?

To give it up meant to lose a chance to gather additional information. So it was decided to conduct a complex operation on replacing the unit with a new, more perfect detector. Preparations for the mission began. This work, by the way, had not been envisaged by the flight programme.

"Speaking figuratively, the telescope is a pipe two metres long and 50 cm in diameter," said one of the mission supervisors, O. Tsygankov.

"The detector is located inside the upper part of the telescope turned towards outer space. As all other pieces of equipment of the module, it is closed from outside by a 20-layer blanket of screening vacuum thermal insulation.

"The crew were to perform a hard task—to leave the station, walk along its entire hull, pass on to the module, cut the blanket, unscrew and replace the detector, connect all cables and protect the spot with fresh insulation."

Dozens of Soviet and Dutch engineers and designers worked out the operation. The first snag was the tools. Since the replacement of the detector had not been envisaged, it was permanently attached to the telescope body.

The use of very small bolts and clips further complicated the matter: Without special tools, even experienced fitters would find the task extremely arduous.

The cosmonauts were even in a more difficult situation: Their mittens as well as the entire spacesuit were under pressure, which greatly restricted their finger movement.

To help solve the problem, a cargo ship brought to the station along with a new detector a whole set of tools, from scissors to special pliers.

Besides, all stages of the planned operation had been imitated on earth in conditions resembling zero-gravity.

AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, commenting on this work, compared it with the operation conducted by U.S. astronauts in 1984: Using a manipulator, the shuttle crew removed from orbit a satellite which needed a new gyroscope.

That this comparison was fair, the Soviet crew found out during their space walk. Nearly all their operations ran into surprises which would occur wherever anyone would undertake to dismantle an instrument, not intended for that, in weightlessness.

The clock ticked off seconds, minutes and hours. Time was pressing when the cosmonauts suddenly had a bad spell of luck—one of the chief wrenches broke down. What a pity. The crew were unwilling to give up, but commands from Ground Control compelled them to do so.

"You've done great work, don't be cross," Valeriy Rymun, head of the mission, encouraged the men. "Return to the station now. The work will be continued later."

No doubt, we agree with this assessment of the crew's performance. During all these hours they were alone with the unknown.

Additional Walk Needed

LD3006134288 Moscow World Service in English
1200 GMT 30 Jun 88

[Text] The Soviet cosmonauts manning the Mir orbital complex left their station earlier today for maintenance work on the astrophysical module Kvant. Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov spent most of the time in raw space trying to replace a number of parts of the X-ray telescope.

They worked outside the station for about 5 hours, yet they failed to replace all the parts they had to. In the opinion of experts to complete this work the cosmonauts will have to make another walk in space.

At the Flight Control Center, Soviet scientists and their colleagues from Holland and Britain who took part in the building of the observatory watched the complicated operation through video television channels. Titov and Manarov have been on their space mission for more than 6 months.

Briefs

AIDS Statistics

The leading Soviet authority on AIDS, Dr Vadim Pokrovskiy, has said 56 Soviets and 300 foreigners have been registered as carriers of that dangerous disease. Only one Soviet patient is actually sick. Three foreigners have died of the disease. A set of prevention measures has been mounted in the USSR. Anonymous diagnostic centers are operating in the country. Dr Pokrovskiy also said that the disease is no threat to those leading a decent way of life. [Text] [LD2506022788 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 24 Jun 88]

Polar Research Vessel Sails

Leningrad June 23 TASS—The polar areas of the Atlantic will be used as a peaceful rocket range in July-September this year. Meteorological rockets for the exploration of the upper layers of the atmosphere will be launched from board the Soviet research vessel "Professor Vize" which has started on a voyage today from the Leningrad sea port. Nikolay Kornilov, a prominent Soviet oceanologist, deputy director of the Arctic and Antarctic Research Institute, told a TASS correspondent that the aim of these explorations is to study the structure and dynamics of the atmosphere at the place of convergence of the cold and warm masses of the air forming in the Arctic and the areas of the ocean bordering on it. Simultaneously aerological and hydrological observations will be carried [out] in the area of the explorations. The ship is to return to Leningrad in mid-November. [Text] [LD2406022188 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 23 Jun 88]

Minicomputer Operation With U.S.

The USSR Ministry of the Petroleum-Refining and Petrochemical Industry and U.S. firms have signed a protocol creating joint enterprises. Applied Engineering Systems, PRIS, is the name given to the items, the assembly of which has begun at the first Soviet-U.S. enterprise in Nizhnekamsk. These multipurpose minicomputers are designed to control technological processes in many sectors of industry, primarily in the petrochemical industry. Experience in joint work has been built up over the years in which the Nizhnekamsk chemical plant was being constructed and started up. U.S. firms supplied equipment to Nizhnekamsk and participated in the start up

and adjustment operation. Next year will see the beginning of the production of control systems that will find wide application in the creation of new technologies. [Text] [LD2706014388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0400 GMT 26 Jun 88]

Space Accord With France

A commercial agreement between the association for foreign economic activity Litsenzintorg, on behalf of the USSR Glavkosmos; and CNES, the National Center of

Space Research of France, has been concluded. It envisages that in 1989, a technological experiment on board the Soviet satellite Foton will be carried out with the help of French technology. In their project, French scientists intend to carry out an investigation of processes connected with the behavior of various liquids under conditions of microgravitation. The Foton satellite will be orbited from the Soviet Plesetsk Cosmodrome by a Soyuz rocket carrier in the first half of next year. [Text] [LD3006040788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Jun 88]